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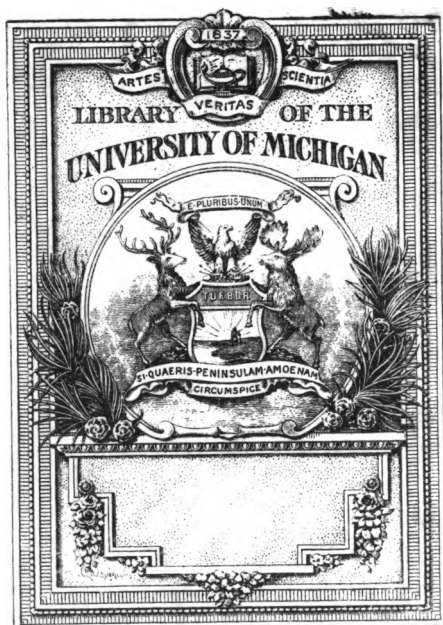
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THE COAL-MINE WORKERS

A STUDY IN LABOR ORGANIZATION

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THE COAL-MINE WORKERS

A STUDY IN LABOR ORGANIZATION

BY

FRANK JULIAN WARNE, PH.D.

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"The Slav Invasion and the Mine Workers:
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INTRODUCTION.

THE fundamental principles of every Trade Union are the same. This is not saying that the constitutions, organizations, methods of attaining their ends, and the formally specified objects of labor organizations do not differ. In details they vary as widely as the formal expressions of the beliefs of churches of different denominations, but as all religions are based upon the same fundamental principles, so all trade unions, in their final analysis, are working for identically the same objects. For this reason the writer believes that a study in detail of a particular Trade Union will give a clear idea of the fundamental objects of all similar organizations. Upon this belief rests largely the conception and writing of this treatise.

Its primary object is to present an impartial analysis of a Trade Union, notwithstanding, too, that the treatment herein accorded the United Mine Workers of America is a sympathetic one. This Trade Union is one of the most important, if not the largest and strongest single labor organization in the world. The conspicuous place it has occupied in public attention and its most remarkable growth in the past eight years are sufficient to justify a study which aims to present as clearly as possible an intelligible and readable account of what the author believes to be a generally misunderstood social institution of the very greatest value and importance. To do this the writer has studied the objects and organization of the union in peace as well as in strike times; he has seen its actual workings outside as well as inside its written constitution; he has been a witness to the practical application of its principles to every-day business affairs, and he has been privileged to view the Trade Union through the eyes of some of its bitterest opponents at times when self-interest, class prejudice, and aroused

human passion were not present to mar a clear and intelligent conception of what the labor movement really signifies.

Thus it is indicated that the writer has no theory to discuss nor any "side" to support. He takes the Trade Union as he finds it, aims to explain impartially its objects and purposes, points out what he believes to be mistakes in organization, shows its actual operation in the more important channels through which its activities are being felt, traces its development over a period of nearly half a century, and describes the industrial machinery which it is bringing into the possession of society for the performance of needful service.

To accomplish this task, if it has been successfully accomplished, the writer has had to depend upon the assistance of others. For this, and to those who have so kindly aided him, he is duly grateful, and only regrets that the number is so large as to prevent him from giving credit to them by name for whatever of value may be found in this volume. His special thanks are due to Mr. John Mitchell,

President of the United Mine Workers of America, for opening channels of information which otherwise would have been closed to the writer, and for other valuable assistance. Where the author has not drawn upon his own observation and experience for the facts herein presented, his sources of information are confined largely to official documents of the United Mine Workers, to reports of the Interstate Convention of Coal Miners and Operators, to United States Government reports, to Andrew Roy's historical sketches of the union in the *Mine Workers' Journal*, and to interviews with representative coal-mine workers and operators in both the anthracite and bituminous coal regions.

F. J. W.

PHILADELPHIA, November 1, 1905.

THE COAL-MINE WORKERS.

CHAPTER I.

THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

OVER 595,000 mine workers are engaged in the thirty-one coal-producing States and Territories of the United States mining bituminous and anthracite coal. Of these, about 300,000 are organized in a Trade Union—the United Mine Workers of America—while at least seventy-five per cent of the total number employed in the country are governed by this organization's scale of wages and work under its conditions of employment. These facts in themselves are sufficient to justify a study in detail of such an organization, showing the purposes for which it exists and

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the methods and means it employs for accomplishing its objects.

In many of its features the general scheme of organization of the United Mine Workers of America bears a close resemblance to that of our political organization. It is made up of national, district (State), sub-district, and local unions. The national union, of which there is but one, is designed to have jurisdiction over all the coal-mine workers of the United States, although recently it has also been extended into British Columbia. In consequence of this inclusion of the miners of the Dominion, the 1905 convention amended the organization's constitution by substituting the term international for national. There are 23 district unions, approximately 35 sub-district unions, and about 2700 local unions.

Subject to the constitution of the national union and the legislation of the national convention, the district union, as a general statement, has jurisdiction over a particular State. This is due largely to the convenience of State-line divisions. There are exceptions, however. In Pennsylvania, for example, owing

to the unusual importance of the coal-producing area of that State, there are six districts—Numbers 1, 7, and 9, covering the anthracite region; District 2, in the Clearfield or central soft-coal field; District 5, in the Pittsburg or western bituminous-coal field; and District 16, which also includes Maryland. In Indiana, District 8 covers the block-coal field, and District 11 the bituminous-coal territory of that State. In a few cases one district extends over more than one State—District 15 takes in Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico; District 17 includes Virginia as well as West Virginia; District 21 takes in Arkansas, Indian Territory, and Texas; and District 22 covers both Montana and Wyoming.

Under the constitution and legislation of the district union are sub-district and local unions. The sub-district union has been made a feature of the organization in order that special regulation may be secured in particular cases for varying conditions, which prevail in almost every State, without placing the whole district in jeopardy when only small areas are affected. The local union is the unit

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making up the sub-district, district, and national unions, and naturally is the smallest in membership of the four unions. One local union usually has jurisdiction over the mine workers at a particular colliery or mine. It must have at least ten members.

Over all the unions the constitution and legislation of the national union are supreme. In those States where a joint conference between representatives of operators and mine workers has been established, the provisions of its agreement take precedence over the constitution and by-laws of the district, sub-district, and local unions, and are second only to the legislation of the national convention. Outside these joint agreements and the constitution and legislation of the national union, the district exercises authority and governing surveillance over the sub-districts and locals. Each union, however, has its own constitution and by-laws, its own officers and conventions, and legislates for its own particular area and group within the authority granted to it.

The United Mine Workers of America is one of the most democratic, with the possi-

bility of at once becoming one of the most autocratic, of any organization in the world. It is democratic in the sense that in the final analysis its policy and management are in the hands of its members. All power vests with them in their collective capacity. To them, in their local unions, every great question affecting the national, district, and sub-district unions is referred sooner or later; from the local unions—from the active, everyday workers in the coal mines—come the final decisions on all such questions. They nominate and elect, by direct vote of the members, the president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer; they indirectly, through their particular districts, elect the members of the national executive board; they choose the delegates that make up the national convention; they send instructions to this convention upon most of the recommendations made to that body by the president of the national union; they instruct their delegates how they are to vote; they not only choose the national and their own local officers, but through regularly elected delegates they com-

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pose the sub-districts and districts, and through these determine the policy that is to be adopted in any particular instance.

Once a year representatives of the local unions meet in regular convention as the national union, usually at Indianapolis, beginning the third week in January, and for ten days or two weeks outline the policy of the national union for the ensuing year. This convention possesses absolute power; there is nothing affecting the organization it cannot do, even to altering or amending its fundamental law—the constitution. It can even abrogate, if it so chooses, the agreement of the interstate joint conference. Its delegates are elected directly by the local unions on the basis of one vote in the convention for each one hundred members (or less), and an additional vote for each one hundred members or majority fraction thereof. No representative, however, can cast more than five votes on any question. In the 1905 convention there was a total of 1057 locals represented by delegates who cast 1877 votes. The representative must be "a miner or mine worker or employed

by the organization" and a member in good standing of a local union in the district he represents (Section 2, Article V, of the constitution). The constitution of the national union interprets the term "miner or mine worker" as meaning "any one working in or around the mines and a member of a local union." Any member of the United Mine Workers occupying a position other than that of miner or mine worker, excepting those holding positions with the organization or with any other affiliated union, is ineligible as representative to any sub-district, district, or national convention, nor can such member represent the United Mine Workers in a central body or State Federation of labor convention. The object of this constitutional provision is to safeguard the unions from possible domination by men under the influence of their employers. Special conventions, the delegates to which must possess the above qualifications, are provided for by the constitution.

The purpose of the national convention is to legislate on any question pertaining to the objects of the organization. These objects

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are expressed in the preamble to the constitution. "There is no fact more generally known, or more widely believed," says this preamble, "than that without coal there would not have been any such grand achievements, privileges, and blessings as those which characterize the twentieth-century civilization, and believing as we do, that those whose lot it is to daily toil in the recesses of the earth, mining and putting out this coal which makes these blessings possible, are entitled to a fair and equitable share of the same: therefore, we have formed 'The United Mine Workers of America,' for the purpose of the more readily securing the objects sought by educating all mine workers in America to realize the necessity of unity of action and purpose, in demanding and securing by lawful means the just fruits of our toil." The objects of the organization are declared to be:

First. To secure an earning fully compatible with the dangers of our calling and the labor performed.

Second. To establish as speedily as possible, and forever, our right to receive pay for labor

performed, in lawful money, and to rid ourselves of the iniquitous system of spending our money wherever our employers see fit to designate.

Third. To secure the introduction of any and all well-defined and established appliances for the preservation of life, health, and limbs of all mine employees.

Fourth. To reduce to the lowest possible minimum the awful catastrophes which have been sweeping our fellow-craftsmen to untimely graves by the thousands; by securing legislation looking to the most perfect system of ventilation, drainage, etc.

Fifth. To enforce existing laws; and where none exist, enact and enforce them; calling for a plentiful supply of suitable timber for supporting the roof, pillars, etc., and to have all working places rendered as free from water and impure air and poisonous gases as possible.

Sixth. To uncompromisingly demand that eight hours shall constitute a day's work, and that not more than eight hours shall be worked in any one day by any mine worker. The very nature of our employment, shut out from the sunlight and pure air, working by the aid of artificial light (in no instance to exceed one candle power), would, in itself,

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strongly indicate that, of all men, a coal miner has the most righteous claim to an eight-hour day.

Seventh. To provide for the education of our children by lawfully prohibiting their employment until they have attained a reasonably satisfactory education, and in every case until they have attained fourteen years of age.

Eighth. To abrogate all laws which enable coal operators to cheat the miners, and to substitute laws which enable the miner, under the protection and majesty of the state, to have his coal properly weighed or measured, as the case may be.

Ninth. To secure, by legislation, weekly payments in lawful money.

Tenth. To render it impossible, by legislative enactment in every state, for coal operators or corporations to employ Pinkerton detectives or guards, or other forces (except the ordinary forces of the state) to take armed possession of the mines in cases of strikes or lockouts.

Eleventh. To use all honorable means to maintain peace between ourselves and employers; adjusting all differences, so far as possible, by arbitration and conciliation, that strikes may become unnecessary.

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA. 11

The means for obtaining these ends are declared to be conciliation, arbitration, and strikes. All three methods have been employed in the course of the union's existence.

In order to carry out the policy of the national convention, to enforce the constitution, and to conduct the business of the national union, there is a president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, and an executive board, whose terms of office are from April 1 to March 31 of each year. These officials, with the exception of the executive board, are nominated by the local unions (a candidate must be nominated by at least five locals), and they are elected, during the first week in December of each year, by a majority of the popular vote of the members voting who are in good standing at that time in the national, district, and local unions. Any member in good standing in the organization is eligible to hold office in the national union, provided he is not a salaried officer of a district or sub-district at the same time, has never been found guilty of misappropriating any funds of the organization intrusted to his care, and has been a

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member of a local union for one year preceding his election. The nominations are made by the locals on specially prepared blanks two months before the annual national convention. Every candidate thus nominated must be notified and his consent secured before his name is placed on the ballots. These are then sent to the locals from the national offices not later than six weeks before the convention is to assemble. Each member present in his local union meeting at the time of the election has one vote for each officer to be chosen, excepting boy members each of whom has one-half a vote. Severe penalties are attached to the violation, by any officer or local union, of the constitutional provisions governing the election. Not later than twenty days prior to the national convention the ballot of each local must be sent, in special envelopes, sealed, and marked "Election Returns," addressed to the national secretary-treasurer, and by this officer deposited in an unopened ballot box. Only the national auditors, or their alternates, who are also selected by popular vote, are to open this box.

The result of this election as canvassed by them is reported to the national convention, which declares elected to the respective offices those candidates receiving the majority of the votes cast. In case there is no election under this provision, then the convention chooses the national officers, each delegate casting by ballot the number of votes for which his local has paid per capita tax.

This initiative and referendum plan for selecting the officers of the national union became effective for the first time in 1902 and is still to be regarded as in its experimental stage. It has not given satisfaction, as recent elections have demonstrated that the rank and file take very little interest in balloting for the candidates except in those districts where strikes are in progress, or have just been closed, or are about to be inaugurated. A scheme is now under advisement to make participation in the annual election for national officers compulsory by fining members who do not vote, unless a sufficient excuse can be given. Formerly the election of national officers was by delegates to the national con-

vention. Under this plan it was possible to elect a national officer with less than a majority of the votes of the members of the local unions. It was also possible for officers or candidates to manipulate the election, or form a combination to control the affairs of the organization, and thus perpetuate themselves in power. The plan of election by popular vote is designed to minimize these possibilities of evil.

When the national convention is not in session, all power under its legislation and the constitution of the national union is vested in the national officers. During this time, which is for all but about two weeks of the year, supreme authority is, in the final analysis, in the hands of one man—the national president. In case of conflict of policy, the decision of the president is final. He has power to suspend or remove any national officer “for insubordination or just and sufficient cause” (Section 2, Article II, of the constitution), and he temporarily fills all vacancies in the national offices. The constitution provides that in the exercise of the power of removal and appointment he shall have the consent of the executive

board; but he can suspend or remove the members of this board. He has strong influence over them in still another way: As members of the board these officers receive no salary, but nearly all of them are paid \$4.00 a day and expenses as organizers. Their positions as organizers depend entirely upon appointment by the president. Besides, the president, with the vice-president and secretary-treasurer, is a member of the board. It convenes at his call and is presided over by him. He decides all questions of dispute concerning the meaning of the constitution; he signs all bills and official documents; he determines the salaries of all employees receiving \$3.50 or less a day and who are not elected by the national convention. He presides at all national conventions, both regular and special. Usually he presents an address to these gatherings, reviewing the work of the national union the past year and recommending whatever action he deems best upon any question before the organization. His recommendations are generally adopted. He calls special national conventions when

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instructed so to do by the executive board, or requested by five districts. He also summons conventions of two or more districts. He may, at any time, in person or through a national officer, visit local unions, district and sub-district conventions, and any other places connected with the organization; he may appoint representatives to examine the financial accounts of any local union and instruct its officers in their duties. In brief, the president exercises general supervision over the workings of all the unions—local, sub-district, district, as well as national. In 1902 he was paid a salary of \$1800 a year. This has since been increased to \$3000. He is required to devote his time and attention to the organization.

No strike can be ordered by any district, nor can final action be taken upon any questions directly or indirectly affecting the interests of the mine workers of another district, until the approval of the national president is secured in writing, or, he having disapproved, until favorable action upon an appeal from his decision has been taken by the executive board. An exception to this,

of course, is in case the strike or action has been ordered by the national convention. Local strikes are under the jurisdiction of the district officers. Together with the other national officers, the president has the power to order a suspension of mining operations by members of the union in any district or districts where such action is deemed advisable for the settlement of a strike in another district, or for the good of the union. The national officers form districts and assign to them the number of men and the extent of territory they are to have jurisdiction over; and they may at any time change the boundary and jurisdiction of any district.

The vesting of such great power, by the United Mine Workers of America, in the hands of one man is due primarily to the exigencies of strike times, when, for all practical purposes, the union becomes a military-like organization, in the control of which there must not be the least possibility of divided leadership. Labor unions have been taught through sad experience, and none more so than the United Mine Workers, that

an industrial army, moving for higher wages and better conditions of employment, must have but one commander-in-chief if the possibility of defeat is to be reduced to a minimum.

The character of the individual possessing such great power is not only of vital concern to the organization itself, but is equally important to the public, as this power can be made to work to the injury of society as well as to its advantage. This human-nature element in the labor movement has been to the writer a most disconcerting obstacle in his attempts to secure an honest and intelligent view of this social phenomenon. Fundamentally, he believes the principles upon which the Trade Union rests are as vital to the progress of American civilization as are those upon which are founded the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, but in the establishment of these industrial principles the public can be imposed upon in particular instances by demagogues in the labor movement, just as we know has been done and is being done in our political life. Strive as hard as one may, he cannot dissociate this

human-nature element from the labor movement. It is this very element, largely, that causes contemporary manifestations of the trade union movement to overshadow at times its fundamental principles. An institution, however good its objects and purposes, can become harmful to society in the hands of men guided by other than right motives, as witness the political "machines" in many of our large cities trading upon the principles of a Lincoln and a Roosevelt. So it is with the Trade Union. Its principles are firmly established in right and justice, and their ultimate realization in a recognized institution, equal in importance to society as the Church, the Schoolhouse, and the Court of Justice, is only a question of time. Meanwhile the public must know the character of the man at the head of a particular labor organization which would bring industrial issues to the arbitrament of a strike. If that character cannot be proven by the public's standard of measurement, he and his claims should be defeated. By so doing the true principles of the Trade Union, represented by true men,

will all the sooner become established in our national life. For these reasons it is necessary that something be said about the man at the head of the United Mine Workers of America.

No one acquainted with the labor leader—labor agitator, as he was commonly called—of a decade or more ago, who has had a close insight into the methods of the man at the head of the United Mine Workers, can doubt that John Mitchell is a new type of labor leader. He is not a demagogue, a haranguer, a typical agitator. His public speeches and statements show this. They do not overflow with flowery metaphors appealing to the passions and prejudices and class hatred of his followers, but for the most part are business-like presentations of conditions as he sees them, appealing to the reason. He is, first of all, a business man in the labor movement; he leads organized labor as our captain of industry manages a great commercial or industrial combination. He once said to the writer: "Capital and labor will both be sorely wounded before they work out their proper relations. I am not a Socialist, and do not

believe in Socialism. I do not believe it would be best for the State to own and operate the coal mines. I am a strict trade-unionist. I believe in progress slowly—by evolution rather than by revolution. I believe a better day is in store for the American workingman, but it has to come through no radical change in the organization of human society. It must come one step at a time, and through a slow upward movement, by his own efforts. I know there are those in the United Mine Workers of America who believe in an early realization of a new social state where all men are to be economically equal. But such members are in the minority. The principles that govern our organization are those of trade-unionism pure and simple—of labor's joint bargaining with capital for a fair share of that which labor helps to produce. We believe in securing this by peaceable means—through arbitration if possible—and if not in this way, then by the only way remaining to us."

John Mitchell was born at Braidwood, Ill., on February 4, 1869, the son of a miner and

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farmer. Deprived of his mother within two and of his father within four years after his birth, he was at an early age left in the care of his stepmother. His schooling was meager, being secured only at intervals when there was no demand for his labor upon the farm. Thrown upon his own resources when only thirteen years of age, he entered the coal mines at his birthplace for a livelihood. It was while thus engaged in that State that he first came under the influence of the labor movement as then directed by the Knights of Labor. It made him restless, and with the indomitable will of his Irish parentage he set out determined to see something of the world. He visited Colorado, New Mexico, and other Western and Southwestern States, working in the coal mines to support himself. Drifting back to the Illinois coal field in 1886, he became a mine worker at Spring Valley, and took an active part in the labor movement there as president of the Knights of Labor local organization. When twenty-two years of age he married Miss Katherine O'Rourke, of Spring Valley; five children have been born

to them, of whom three are living. While residing at Spring Valley, Mr. Mitchell served at one time as president of its board of education. Thirsting for knowledge, he read everything within his reach, joined debating societies, independent political-reform clubs, and various social organizations, in which many opportunities came to him to exercise his mental faculties and to cultivate the art of speech-making. When the United Mine Workers of America was organized in January, 1890, he was among the first to be enrolled as a member in his district. He was a delegate to the sub-district and district conventions; secretary-treasurer of the northern Illinois sub district, at that time embracing all the State then organized; and in 1896, chairman of the Illinois mine workers' legislative committee, with headquarters at the State capital to work for labor legislation. He served later as a member of the Illinois State executive board, and as a national organizer. In January, 1898, at the Columbus convention, Mr. Mitchell was elected national vice-president, and in September of the same year the execu

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tive board made him acting president to succeed Mr. M. D. Ratchford, who resigned to become a member of the United States Industrial Commission. The national convention of the United Mine Workers at Pittsburgh in January, 1899, confirmed this choice and elected Mr. Mitchell president for the following year. Since then he has been reelected annually by the union. He is second vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, and a prominent member of the National Civic Federation.

Next in importance to the president in the conduct of the national union is the executive board. This board is, in a sense, the organization's board of directors. It is composed of one member from each district, and of the president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer of the national union *ex-officio*. Unlike these officials, board members representing the districts are not chosen directly by the local unions, but by district conventions made up of delegates elected by the locals—somewhat like the choosing of United States Senators by State legislatures. At the present

time there are twenty-six members, one each from the twenty-three districts (including one in British Columbia, Canada), and the three officials of the national union. This makes the board too large and unwieldy for expediting business, and recently, with the rapid spread of the union and the consequent increase in the number of districts, this question has come to be a very serious one to the officers of the organization. It is more than probable that before long some other plan for selecting the board members will be substituted. Formerly the national convention elected the six or eight members of the board.

Another objection to the board, as at present constituted, is that each member has one vote in its deliberations. This gives to a district having only 29 members (such as District 16 in Maryland in 1904) as great a voting influence as a district having 51,167 members (such as District 12 in Illinois in 1904). Inasmuch as 14 members constitute a majority of the board, and as the combined membership of fourteen districts in 1904 was a total of only 54,704, while the membership of the national

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union in that year exceeded 260,000, it can readily be seen that it is possible for board members representing less than 25 per cent of the total membership to determine the policy of the national union when the convention is not in session. This is true notwithstanding the fact that eight districts having a combined membership in 1904 of 207,571—representing nearly four times as many members as the fourteen districts referred to—may cast their votes in opposition. The evil of this defect is somewhat lessened in its scope by the constitutional provision making necessary a vote of two-thirds of the members of the board before a general strike or national suspension order can be issued, and by the power of suspension and removal lodged with the president. It has also been made still less serious as a result of an amendment to the constitution since the anthracite mine workers' strike in 1902. In the convention of 1903, following that memorable struggle, President Mitchell, in his annual address, said on this point: "Our membership in the anthracite fields represents practically

40 per cent of the total membership of the organization, while the voting strength of the three members of the national executive board from the anthracite fields is only about 15 per cent of the voting strength of the national organization on the executive board." While he did not believe any advantage would be taken of this disproportionate representation, yet "in order to overcome what appears to be a plausible objection on the part of the anthracite railway presidents to recognition of our union, I should recommend that upon the question of inaugurating a strike in the anthracite field, the anthracite members of the national executive board be given equal voting power with the members of the executive board from the bituminous fields. Upon all other questions the voting strength of the members of the board may remain as at present." This principle was adopted by the convention, which amended the constitution so as to provide that each member of the executive board, in voting on the question of a general strike or suspension, "shall have one vote, and one additional vote for every

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5000 members in good standing they represent, or a majority fraction thereof."

This executive board, of which the president is a member, wields power next in importance to that of the national convention; in fact, it executes the orders of the national convention, and between conventions exercises full power to direct the workings of the national union, including the levying and collecting of assessments. Not only does it have the power to order a general strike or suspension, but it can overrule, upon appeal, the decisions of district officers upon questions affecting strikes within any district. It is also a court of appeal upon questions affecting the interests of two or more districts, excepting in those cases where the national convention has taken action. The board convenes upon the order of the president—its presiding officer or chairman—or of the secretary-treasurer at the request of eleven of its members. It may at any time instruct the president to call a special national convention. It holds in trust for the national union all moneys in the treasury over \$15,000. Among its other duties

is that of a national board of conciliation and arbitration.

Nearly all the members of the executive board are employed by the president as national organizers. As such they receive \$4.00 a day and expenses. These are the "walking delegates." They bear the brunt of the fight, are always to be found in the thickest of it, and generally constitute the advance guard of the field force of the organization when an invasion of territory heretofore unorganized is decided upon. They are the missionaries of the new doctrine as to the rights of man; they usually are compelled to blaze it forth to their kind in a wilderness of conflicting passions and class and race hatreds; they are met with suspicion and bitter antagonism even from those they would save from industrial servitude. These organizers are of many tongues; they go among strange peoples from many climes. They teach their doctrine of unionism alike to the Negro, the Slav, the Lithuanian, the Greek, the German, the Englishman, and the American. Through months and even years of bitter antagonism, of almost

crushing opposition, they work patiently at their tasks to bring the many nationalities engaged in coal mining into the organization, and to mould the heterogeneous mass into unity of belief and action. Fearless and undaunted by opposition, they bear persecution and suffer imprisonment and even death for the faith that is in them. However far apart one's views may be from an indorsement of the means and methods employed by these organizers, if he could but see the spirit of martyrdom often exhibited by them, he would believe, as the writer does, that they are performing a real and a lasting work as pioneers in the formation of our industrial state. In 1904 over sixty, and in 1905 more than sixty-five, organizers and field workers were employed by the national union in addition to the members of the executive board, making what is probably the largest paid force of organizers of any labor union in the world.

These organizers, going into coal fields whose mine workers are outside the national union, begin their task by getting into personal touch with the men. They stop them on the street

corners, visit the places in which they are in the habit of congregating, distribute among them tracts containing information about the organization, and in various other ways plant the idea of unionism in the minds of a few of the men. From these few it spreads, at first almost unobservable, until gradually the workers begin talking about "the union," and by degrees nearly all the employees of the mine, or, where the mines are in close proximity the employees of a number of mines, are discussing the objects and benefits of organization. When he thinks the time opportune, the organizer calls a meeting of those he believes interested in the movement and organizes them into a local union, sometimes secretly for fear of the opposition of the employers. They secure a charter and other supplies from the national headquarters for \$15.00, and are assigned a number by which the local is to be officially known. In cases the jurisdiction of a local may extend to two or more collieries or mines, but as a rule it is confined to the employees of a single mine. Where a mining plant employs several thou

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sand men they may be organized into a number of locals according either to nationality, or language, or place of residence in case they are scattered in near-by mining towns. The total number of locals in the national union in 1905 was 1057, ranging from 2 in District 10 (Washington) to 159 in District 12 (Illinois).

Once the national union gains a foothold in a coal field its spread is rapid or slow depending upon the particular conditions encountered. Miners, mine laborers, and other workmen, skilled and unskilled, employed in and about the mine, excepting persons engaged in the sale of intoxicating liquors and excepting also mine employees holding superintending positions such as manager, boss, etc., may join its ranks. Thus are embraced workmen engaged in some fifty classified occupations in both the bituminous and anthracite mines of the country, including miners, laborers, engineers, firemen, blacksmiths, carpenters, machinists, slate pickers, slope and shaft headmen, shaft helpers, plane headmen, car dumpers, slate shovelers and wheelers, men in chutes above screen, men cutting and loading timber, oilers,

loaders of big cars, ash wheelers, blacksmiths' helpers, drivers, watchmen, door and fan boys, runners, tracklayers and helpers, shaft repairmen, timbermen and helpers, shaft and slope footmen and helpers, plane or wheel runners, plane footmen, masons, road cleaners, car couplers, pumpmen, stablemen and helpers, pipemen, water bailers, men unloading rock, trappers, bottom cagers, etc., etc. This large number of occupations included in its jurisdiction indicates the broad industrial character of the United Mine Workers. Its success has not been attained without numerous conflicts with independent organizations which also claimed jurisdiction over some of these occupations, such as the Stationary Engineers, Association in the anthracite region and the National Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers in Illinois. In both instances, upon the dispute being appealed to the American Federation of Labor, the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers over these coal-mining occupations was recognized.

No one is excluded from membership in the United Mine Workers because of race, color, or

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nationality, but all "practical miners" are expected to pay an initiation fee of ten dollars and thereafter fifty cents a month as dues and whatever assessments are levied. In case of the initiation fee, the national president is given power to grant a dispensation for a reduction of the amount in such districts or localities where he may deem such action advisable. This was done in 1905 in the anthracite region when the initiation fee was fixed at \$2.00 during a limited time in order to increase the membership of the organization in that section. In conforming to the provisions of the local union's ritual governing the initiation of new members the latter must promise among other things that: "I will assist all members of our organization to obtain the highest wages possible for their work." Each member is provided with a "due card" upon which the amounts paid by him are entered. This card is his evidence of membership. (In some coal fields, in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania for example, where the union is not recognized by the operators, the members wear buttons in the lapels of their coats as indicating member-

ship in the organization.) Provision is made for issuing transfer cards when members go from one mine to another. Local unions are compelled to accept all properly made out transfer cards and must admit the holder to membership provided he has been a member of the organization for at least three months. No member in good standing who holds a due or transfer card "shall be debarred or hindered from obtaining work on account of race, creed, or nationality" (Section 3, Article VII, of the constitution). When any member is suspended or discharged from his place at the mine, a committee of the local (the mine committee) makes an investigation, and if it finds that the member is not guilty of an offense justifying his discharge, the grievance is reported in writing to the sub-district and district presidents, and if, upon investigation, they find the report of the committee to be correct, it is made their duty to insist upon the reinstatement of the suspended or discharged member. Members of the locals elect their own officers every six months and legislate for their own particular area, subject to the

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constitutions of the national, district, and sub-district unions. Each local is compelled to become a part of and to contribute to the sub-district located within its district before it can secure representation in either the district or national unions, and to secure the benefits of the national union the local must at all times be in good standing with the national, district, and sub-district unions. All locals three months or more in arrears for dues or assessments are usually published each month by the national secretary-treasurer. This is called the "unfair list" by the locals in good standing.

It is in the local union that strikes generally have their origin. Its members are the workers in and about the mines and are the first to feel the injurious effects of the adverse conditions of employment which give rise to grievances. Whenever any difference arises between the members of a local and their employers it is made the duty of the officers of that local to endeavor to effect an amicable adjustment, and failing in this to notify the officers of the district having juris-

diction over the particular local. If the district officers, after an investigation of the cause of the complaint, fail to effect a peaceable settlement "on a basis that would be fair and just to aggrieved members" (Section 1, Article X, of the constitution), and find that a strike would best serve the interests of that particular locality, they may order the inauguration of a strike. The local has the right of appeal from the decision of the district officers to the national executive board. Local strikes not approved by the district officers, or the national executive board, are not supported by the district, and any local union striking in violation of these provisions may not be recognized by the national officers. In fact, such unauthorized action on the part of a local union has resulted in its being deprived of its charter, as in the case of the local union at Salineville, Ohio, whose charter was revoked in 1902 because it engaged in a strike disapproved by the national officers. Suspensions of local unions have occurred on several occasions during the past five or six years.

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No district can take final action upon questions that directly or indirectly affect the interests of the mine workers of another district, or that require a strike to determine, until the president and secretary of the aggrieved district "shall jointly prepare, sign, and forward to the national president a written statement setting forth the grievances complained of, the action contemplated by the district, together with the reasons therefor, and the national president shall, within five days after the receipt of such statement, either approve or disapprove of the action contemplated by the aggrieved district, and such approval or disapproval, together with the reasons therefor, shall be made in writing, and a copy forwarded to the secretary of the complaining district. Should the action contemplated by the aggrieved district receive the approval of the national president, the district shall be free to act; but should the national president disapprove the action contemplated, the district may appeal to the national executive board, which shall be convened to consider such appeal within five

days after its receipt by the national secretary. Until the national president has approved, or the national executive board has sustained the appeal, no district shall be free to enter upon a strike unless it shall have been ordered by a national convention" (Section 2, Article X, of the constitution). "The national officers shall, at any time they deem it to the best interest of mine workers in a district that is idle, for just and sufficient reasons, order a suspension in any other district or districts that would in any way impede the settlement of the district affected; provided that such action would conserve to the best interest of the United Mine Workers of America" (Section 4, Article X, of the constitution).

As the machinery for the inauguration of a strike is first put in motion by the local union, so does the success of the strike depend, to a large degree, upon the support given by the locals, not only by those whose members happen to be on strike, but by those in other fields whose members remain at work. The members of the locals constitute the rank and

file of the organization—they are the privates, corporals, and sergeants of the great army of mine workers moving towards an improvement in the conditions of their employment. In peace times they prepare the organization for strikes by contributing, in dues and assessments, to the district and national unions, besides providing for their own local treasuries. So well did they do this in 1902 that immediately upon the special national convention issuing its appeal for relief to carry on the anthracite mine workers' strike, District 12 (Illinois) contributed \$50,000 from its treasury; District 8 (Indiana), \$10,000; District 11 (Indiana), \$8000; District 13 (Iowa), \$5000; District 2 (Central Pennsylvania), \$3259.50; and Districts 25 (Missouri) and 20 (Alabama), \$1000 each. Only a month before this appeal was issued District 12 (Illinois) had contributed \$50,000 for the conduct of the strike in the two Virginias, making a total of \$100,000 for carrying on strikes contributed by one district alone within two months. Besides the districts, the sub-districts and locals in all the organized coal-producing States con-

tributed in the aggregate a large sum from their respective treasuries to prosecute the strike of the anthracite mine workers.

Under the constitution every local union is required to pay into the national treasury a per capita tax of twenty-five cents a month for each member, and such additional assessments as may be levied by a national convention or a referendum vote of the members, or by the national executive board for two months pending a referendum vote. The basis of payment is the amount of dues collected in each month by the local. Boys under sixteen years of age are regarded as half members and pay one-half as much tax and assessment as full members. In the deliberations of the local each boy member has one-half a vote. These dues and assessments from the locals form the principal sources of income for the national union. When a strike of unusual proportion is in progress, contributions from other labor organizations and from the general public increase the funds in the national treasury. The important part these play in the conduct of the organization was

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shown in 1902 during the six months' strike in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania and the two months' strike of mine workers in progress at the same time in the Virginias. Including these and the cost of smaller strikes in seven other districts, the total amount paid by the United Mine Workers for strike purposes from January 1 to December 31, 1902, was \$1,889,202. Large as this sum is, it was exceeded by the contributions from members, the various unions voluntarily donating \$258,344 and the members of the organization paying in special assessments \$1,967,026, a total of \$2,225,370. This is more impressive when it is remembered that more than one-half the members of the union (including the 147,000 anthracite mine workers) were on strike and in consequence contributed but little to the defense fund. In that year the total income of the United Mine Workers was \$3,010,878, and the total expenditures \$2,080,805.

The principal sources of income and expenditure of the organization are shown by an analysis of the annual report of the secretary-

treasurer for 1904. Omitting cents in our figures, the total income for the twelve months was \$852,773, of which \$474,650 came from assessments, \$303,697 from per capita tax, \$11,119 from the sale of supplies, \$9070 from the *Journal*—the weekly publication of the organization—\$426 in contributions for the defense fund, and \$53,811 from miscellaneous sources, such as interest on deposits, etc. For the same year the sources of expenditure included \$1,067,300 in donations for relief to strikers, \$199,726 in salaries and expenses, \$14,948 for supplies, \$7443 *Journal* expenses, \$5340 office expenses, \$5873 for postage, telephone, express, etc., and \$54,390 miscellaneous; a total expenditure of \$1,355,019, which exceeded the receipts for that year by \$502,246. For the previous year there was a balance in the treasury of \$1,106,199, leaving a balance on hand on November 30, 1904, of \$603,953.

All this indicates the importance of the financial organization of the United Mine Workers of America. This constitutes one of the strongest features of the national union.

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In charge of the finances is the secretary-treasurer, nominated and elected directly by the vote of the members of the local unions, as has been described in the election of the president. He conducts all the business of the national union concerning the management of its headquarters, having charge of all books, documents, and effects; supervises the management of the *Mine Workers' Journal*,—the official weekly organ of the union; receives all moneys and pays all bills, excepting when the president orders otherwise and providing that not over \$15,000 is subject to the secretary-treasurer's order at any one time. All sums over this amount are deposited by him to the credit of the executive board, and to draw upon these a written order of two-thirds of the board members is necessary. He is required to give a bond of \$25,000. His yearly salary in 1902 was \$1500 and expenses, but it has since been increased to \$2500 and expenses. As a rule he reports quarterly to the locals the condition of the national treasury.

Over all the sources of revenue and expendi-

ture the national secretary-treasurer is given authority by the constitution to enforce strict discipline, with severe penalties for violations of the rules. Each secretary of a local is required by the national constitution to fill out and forward to the national and district secretary-treasurers before the twenty-fifth of each month a report of all members in good standing in that local on the first day of that month, together with all taxes and assessments due from it to the national and district officers. For a violation of this provision a local union is subject to suspension from all privileges or benefits until the deficiency is made good, and its officers are prohibited from again holding such positions in the organization, but it has not been found practicable to enforce this rule rigidly. To keep a check on such reports, the local secretary is required to inform the national office of the amount of money paid and the number of members reported to the district secretary-treasurer, and to the district office the amount of money and number of members reported to the national secretary-treasurer, certifying that such reports are

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for the full number of members in good standing in the local. In order more rigidly to enforce the requirements compelling local officers to report monthly to the national office, the 1905 convention amended the constitution so as to provide a fine of two dollars for each one hundred members whenever a delinquent local is reinstated.

Despite these constitutional provisions not a few of the locals fail to report the full number of members in good standing, excepting about the time of the national convention, and they do it then in order to secure in the convention as large a voting representation as possible. For if the local is in arrears for two months preceding the one in which the convention is held, and has not in every particular complied with the constitution of its district, or has less than ten members, it is not entitled to representation in the national convention. The reason for the locals not making full reports of their paid-up membership is generally traced to the desire of their officials to have their own local treasuries well filled in order to meet their own particular wants, some

of the locals in this way having succeeded in purchasing ground and erecting a building for their headquarters. If the members of a local are idle for one month or more, they are exonerated from the payment of the per capita tax and assessments until they resume work. This condition may occur through a mine or colliery being abandoned or idle for repairs; by a strike, or through other causes. But to secure such exoneration, a request, signed by the president, secretary, and mine committee, must be approved by the district and national secretaries each month as long as the members are idle in place of the regular monthly financial report. All financial officers of the local unions are required to give a bond "for the faithful performance of their duties." It sometimes happens, however, that officers prove faithless to their trust and abscond with the moneys. The national union makes efforts to have them arrested and punished, but it does not always succeed.

The national constitution prohibits any local from dividing its funds among its members. In case any local, sub-district, or district union

uses the funds entrusted to its care for any other than legitimate purposes, it is to be fined double the amount so used. Should any local disband or cease to work for any cause, all its moneys, supplies, and other property revert to the national union.

Enough has been said to show that the management of the United Mine Workers of America is as much a business as is the conduct of any of our great industrial or commercial enterprises of the present day. It directs its strength against those forces tending to keep down the price of its commodity—mine labor—with as much regard for its own particular interests and in disregard of the interests of others, where and when these conflict, as do any of the industrial or other trusts. In order to control the price of mine labor it aims to prevent mine workers from selling their labor at a lower price than that set by the union. It does this by taking them into the organization and persuading them to sell their labor at union prices, or by driving them out of the industry, just as the great "Steel Trust" endeavors to absorb or destroy

the independent steel manufacturer, or as the "Sugar Trust" attempts to control or drive out the independent refiner. The mine worker refusing from one cause or another to be governed by the union in the sale of his labor is the independent producer of mine labor, or the non-union man. In driving out the commodity he has to sell the union is forced to attack the individual, as it is impossible to dissociate the one from the other. In consequence violence and bloodshed result.

Not only does the union attempt in various ways to control this independent producer of mine labor in the selling of his commodity, but not unlike the so-called trusts, in fixing the price of this labor and the conditions under which it is to be sold, it brooks no interference from other organizations which have mine labor to sell if it feels itself strong enough to prevent it. This is well-illustrated by the United Mine Workers practically driving out of the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania the separate organizations of blacksmiths, engineers, carpenters, and firemen which existed

in one or more of the three fields prior to the strikes of 1900 and 1902. We see it again in the union's steady absorption of the coal-mine employees in the States west of the Mississippi River, most of whom have heretofore been under the jurisdiction of the Western Federation of Miners (an organization composed largely of metalliferous miners) and the Western Labor Union. If it ever becomes necessary, in order to attain its objects, or, once attained, to prevent these objects being lost, the same absorption by the United Mine Workers of the coal miners of Canada and Nova Scotia may be looked for. In fact, this tendency is even now in evidence, the union in 1904 having established a district in British Columbia, Canada, and at present being in correspondence with representatives of the Provincial Workmen's Association, which latter exercises jurisdiction over the mine employees of Nova Scotia, looking towards amalgamation in the United Mine Workers' organization. This future status of the organization has already been anticipated by the 1905 convention substituting the term

international for that of national wherever the latter appeared in the constitution.

Another feature of the United Mine Workers which indicates a broader activity than that of national is its membership in the International Mining Congress, and its agreement with the miners' organizations in Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Germany, which permits members of these foreign labor associations to be admitted to the United Mine Workers upon presentation of their transfer cards. This wider field of usefulness and influence as a labor organization is also indicated in the United Mine Workers being one of 173 trade unions which in 1904 were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which latter then numbered a total of 1,676,200 average paid-up members.

Trade-unionism, under the stimulus of the United Mine Workers of America, has come to be a business operation on a large scale. As a business, its success depends upon the close observance of market conditions and the obeying of laws governing these conditions. Most trusts deal with material commodities—

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goods that have no feeling or mode of independent action. They are thus able, usually, not only to increase the price of their particular commodity on a rising market, but, if they so wish, to reduce prices on a falling market. The difference with the Trade Union is that it deals with a commodity possessed by an individual with feelings and sympathies and modes of independent action. The general experience has been that when a period of falling prices sets in, the possessor of mine labor objects strongly to reducing the price of his labor—his wages. The past teaches us that he persists stubbornly, even against the advice of the leader of his union, in his refusal to reduce his wages, and will go to the extent of striking against such reduction.

The United Mine Workers, as is true of many other trade unions, also confronts great difficulties in raising the price of its commodity on rising markets, largely due to the fact that the consumers of its labor, unlike the consumers of most "trust" commodities, are strongly organized. It is true they are organized primarily as producers and yet, as consumers

they can make very effective use of this organization in directing its powers against influences tending to increase their cost of production. The part of the intelligent leader—of the business manager of labor—is closely to observe the conditions of the labor and general markets, and all factors likely to affect the wages of the worker—the price of labor—and to direct his organization along the lines they indicate as the proper course. A study of such conditions is provided for in the constitution of the United Mine Workers by giving to the president, with the consent of the executive board, the power to appoint a man whose duty it is to collect and compile statistics on production, distribution, consumption, freight rates, market conditions, and any other matters of interest connected with the coal trade which are likely to affect wages.

Not only do its financial features indicate that the United Mine Workers is founded upon business principles, but there is still another phase of the work of the organization which more strongly emphasizes this statement.

This is the Interstate Joint Conference for determining upon wages and conditions of employment, which is in vogue in the central competitive territory and in the Southwestern coal fields, by means of which representatives of the mine employees and of the operators meet once a year in joint conventions. In these conferences labor is regarded as a commodity, and the possessor of this labor—the mine worker—is accorded the right, through representatives of the union, to “bargain” with representatives of the purchasers of that labor—the coal-mining companies—for the price of his labor and the conditions under which it is to be sold. The basis of these conferences, the agreements or contracts entered into as well as the machinery which brings them into existence, and the value of this method to the industrial stability of the coal-mining industry, furnish the subject-matter of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER II.

THE INTERSTATE JOINT CONFERENCE.

A CONSPICUOUS feature of the labor movement in this country has been and continues to be the creation and development of methods by which employers and employees, through joint conferences, are enabled to enter into an agreement or contract governing wages and conditions of employment for a specified time, usually for one year. Naturally, this could not come about until the growth of the Trade Union had brought the organization of workers in a particular industry to the point where they could not only enter into contracts through their own representatives, but would hold inviolate the terms agreed upon. In many of our large industries the Trade Union has developed to this point. This is especially true of the coal-mining industry, and its joint-conference machinery is held up

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as a type for imitation, in its general outlines, by other trade unions and employers' organizations. We shall refer in this chapter to the Interstate Joint Conference, reserving the State or District conference of coal operators and mine workers for treatment in the next chapter.

The Interstate Joint Conference in the bituminous coal industry prevails in what is generally designated as the central competitive soft-coal territory—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and western Pennsylvania—and since 1904 in the Southwestern fields of Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Indian Territory, and Texas. The movement dates its beginning from 1885, but a treatment of its historical development is reserved for Chapter VI. The idea itself, and its embodiment in a practical method in the coal industry, is even much older, for we find joint conferences between operators and mine workers to have come into existence in the anthracite coal fields as early as 1868, under the Workingmen's Benevolent Association and the Anthracite Board of Trade of the Schuylkill Coal Region. But the

labor movement in the bituminous and anthracite coal regions of the United States has proceeded, until 1900, along distinct and separate lines of development, and while it is possible that the idea may have been borrowed from the hard-coal mine workers, it has been worked out separately and along somewhat different lines in the soft-coal fields.

Although first made practical in the central competitive bituminous coal territory in 1885, the joint-conference machinery has not been in continuous operation. From 1885 to 1898 there were periods, as we shall learn later from a study in detail of the historical aspect of the movement, when it was not operative, owing to various well-defined causes. One of the most conspicuous of these was the division among the mine workers resulting from the National Progressive Union, the National Trades Assembly, No. 135, Knights of Labor, and the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers each claiming jurisdiction over the coal-mine employees of the country, with accompanying bitter and open hostility between members of these organizations. It

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is true, this division in the ranks of the mine workers was somewhat bridged by two of the warring factions being absorbed into the United Mine Workers of America in 1890, but that young organization was too weak at first to support effectively the joint-conference plan. Following the general suspension of soft-coal mining in eight of the States in 1897, however, the joint conferences were restored in the central competitive territory and have been held each year since then. This account is of the Interstate Joint Conference for Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and western Pennsylvania, although its general principles will apply as well to the conference plan covering Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Indian Territory, and Texas.

The principles underlying this joint movement, with its objects and purposes, as formulated by the fifth annual joint convention at Indianapolis in 1902, are as follows:

First. That this joint movement is founded, and that it is to rest, upon correct business ideas, competitive equality, and upon well-recognized principles of justice.

Second. That, recognizing the contract relations existing between employer and employee, we believe strikes and lockouts, disputes and friction, can be generally avoided by meeting in joint convention and by entering into trade agreements for specified periods of time.

Third. That we recognize the sacredness and binding nature of contracts and agreements thus entered into, and are pledged in honor to keep inviolate such contracts and agreements made by and between a voluntary organization, having no standing in court, on the one hand, and a merely collective body of business men doing business individually or in corporate capacity on the other, each of the latter class having visible and tangible assets subject to execution.

Fourth. That we deprecate, discourage, and condemn any departure whatever from the letter or spirit of such trade agreements or contracts, unless such departure be deemed by all parties in interest for the welfare of the coal-mining industry and for the public good as well, and that such departure is first definitely, specifically, and mutually agreed upon by all parties in interest.

Fifth. Such contracts or agreements having been entered into, we consider ourselves severally and collectively bound in honor to carry them out in good faith in letter and spirit, and are so pledged to use our influence

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and authority to enforce these contracts and agreements, the more so since they rest in the main upon mutual confidence as their basis.

The machinery for accomplishing these objects includes an interstate joint convention of operators and mine workers from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and western Pennsylvania (the Pittsburg district); joint conventions in each of these States (districts), and also in the sub-districts of each State.

The interstate convention meets usually about the last week in January of each year, in a city determined upon by the preceding convention, to agree upon wages and conditions of employment for the scale year from April 1 to March 31. The mine employees are usually represented by the district (State) and national officers of the United Mine Workers. The operators of each State, in some of which there is a distinct and formal organization, select their own representatives in whatever way they may decide upon. In the Southwestern fields of Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Indian Territory, and Texas there is an organization of the operators covering all

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these fields. The representation at the last joint conference of the central competitive territory, held at Indianapolis, January, 1904, was as follows:

State.	Mine Workers.	Operators.
Pennsylvania.	105	25
Ohio.	128	80
Indiana (bituminous) ..	105	57
Indiana (block)	14	10
Illinois	205	181
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.	557	353

Usually the conference is called to order, at the time agreed upon, by the president of the United Mine Workers, who is made temporary chairman. An operator is generally selected as permanent chairman, and a representative of the miners' union as secretary, with an operator as assistant secretary. Two members from each side from each State make up the different committees, such as credentials, rules, and order of business, etc., excepting the scale committee. This gives to each side equal representation upon all committees.

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Upon the floor of the convention all representatives have equal privileges, but in voting upon questions each side from each State is confined to four votes—that is, the operators of each State have four votes and the mine workers of each State have four votes—making the full voting strength of the convention a total of 32. The full voting strength of each side is 16.

Two sessions of the convention, usually open to the public, are provided for each week day, with occasional evening sessions. The miners' representatives have seats on one side of the hall (the right) and the representatives of the operators upon the opposite side (the left). To reach a decision upon any question there must be a unanimous vote of the mine workers and operators from all the States—a total of 32 votes—and in no event is this rule suspended in its application to all questions affecting the proposed scale and agreement. The order of business consists of the report of the credentials committee, appointment of the scale committee, report of this committee, discussion of this report,

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and adjournment. This order of business appears simple, and yet it sometimes takes two or three weeks, or even longer, to dispose of it; and in doing so some of the most complex business questions with which it is the lot of any group of men to deal are discussed if not settled.

Before the interstate convention assembles the representatives of the miners have attended the annual convention of the United Mine Workers and have learned from the rank and file of that organization what particular or general questions are uppermost in the different fields, and what the workers expect of the operators in the way of wages, conditions of employment, and the remedying of particular grievances. In a meeting prior to the joint conference, the miners' representatives decide upon the line of policy they will pursue in presenting their claims to the operators. These claims come before the joint conference in the form of a resolution stating the prices that are to be paid for mining and the conditions of employment that are to prevail in the central competitive field and in the par-

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ticular States composing it represented in the meeting. The claims most frequently embraced in the resolutions are for a general increase in wages, a uniform mining system, and a uniform wage scale for all outside day labor, an eight-hour work-day, a differential per ton between pick and machine mining, a minimum day wage for specified occupations, freedom in purchasing powder and other supplies, and the adoption of a check-off system in all the competitive districts by which the companies collect for and pay over to the United Mine Workers the dues and assessments of its members. A general discussion of the resolution follows, during which the representatives of the mine workers give the reasons as they see them why their claims should be granted. These are replied to by the operators with just as plausible reasons from their standpoint why the claims should be refused. After a full and free discussion the resolution is put to a vote and is usually lost, the miners voting unanimously for its adoption and the operators voting unanimously that it be not adopted. Under the rules requiring a unanimous vote

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of both sides, the motion to adopt the resolution is declared lost and then the whole question on motion goes to the scale committee.

Early in the convention each State selects four representatives from each side to make up the membership of the scale committee, each side choosing its own representatives. This makes four mine workers and four operators from each State, a total of 32 members. In addition to these, for each representative on the committee each State may have an alternate, who enjoys all the privileges of the others except that of voting, unless his principal is absent. Sometimes commissioners representing various fields and interests, States, and districts are admitted to the joint scale committee, but they have no vote in its deliberations.

It is in this scale committee that the real work of the convention is usually transacted. It meets and organizes, adopts the rules governing the joint convention as its rules, and at once takes up its order of business. This is ordinarily a motion to adopt the scale as presented by the mine workers. A

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vote similar to that recorded in the joint convention generally results—the operators vote unanimously against its adoption and the miners unanimously for the motion. Then the scale is taken up and discussed clause by clause. This brings out facts and figures from both sides, and many of the intricate and difficult questions involved in the conduct of this great business are presented in all their details. If any person doubts that there are two sides to nearly all questions involved in the mining of coal, he should attend one of the sessions of this scale committee. This is the great value of the whole movement—it enables the representatives of the operators and of the mine workers to see both sides of the questions that daily come up to perplex them, and each is convinced as he had not been before, probably, that all the truth is not on his side. One thing is true; these intricate questions are not discussed in the scale committee with that bias and fanaticism so often displayed in labor controversies where the questions are brought to the arbitrament of a strike, but logic and reason and good common

sense are brought to bear upon them. The miners' representatives have demonstrated that they are possessed of these latter qualities just as much as have the operators. It is true that when it comes to determine finally the question at issue each side commonly votes unanimously against the other, but their representatives have had the advantage of a free, honest, and friendly intercourse which tends to remove many of the obstacles that conspire to prevent a prompt and working settlement of the perplexing questions involved. Usually no decision is arrived at on any of the miners' demands, and then the scale committee reports to the joint convention after three, four, or even more days' sitting, including, sometimes, night sessions.

This report of the scale committee is received by the joint convention and then a motion is made that the scale be adopted. Here again the scale is taken up clause by clause and discussed, and the votes are usually the same—all the operators voting one way and all the miners the opposite. The scale is again referred to the joint scale committee, and

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immediately upon its meeting the second time a subscale committee of two operators and two mine workers from each State is selected, each State naming its members upon call of the roll. Then the scale committee adjourns to meet at the call of the subscale committee.

The meetings of the subscale committee are absolutely secret. No notes of what is said or done are taken by a stenographer, or by any of the members, and no records of any kind are kept of its proceedings. At these meetings both sides are as open and frank towards each other as it is, perhaps, possible to be. No attempt is made to hide any of the secrets of the trade, and the whole intricate problem is laid bare to both sides. Correct figures are given, and statements are made as to the existence of certain conditions which may throw new light on the subjects under discussion and present the actual state of affairs. Inasmuch as the claims of the mine workers have been opposed in all the meetings of the convention and of the scale committee so far held, it is the custom for the operators to present to the subscale committee their propo-

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sitions as to the prices to be paid mine labor and the conditions of employment they think should prevail for the ensuing year. These propositions the miners oppose. The operators' claims are then referred to the joint scale committee, in which the mine workers again reject them. Back goes the question of the adoption of a scale to the subscale committee. It may remain in session two days or two weeks. The result is usually an agreement. Not once in the past eight years has the subscale committee failed finally to reach an agreement which has continued friendly industrial relations between the operators and mine workers in the central competitive territory. It may be that before the contract is agreed upon by the subscale committee this body has had a protracted adjournment, as was the case in 1904.

The subscale committee makes a report of its findings to the joint scale committee, which unanimously adopts it; the joint scale committee usually reports its action to the joint convention, which in turn unanimously adopts the report. The scale as then agreed to

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is signed by two representatives from each side from each State. Usually the miners signing the agreement are the president and secretary of each district and the national officers of the United Mine Workers. Little other business then remains to be transacted, and soon after the signing of the scale the convention adjourns to meet the following year at a place determined upon.

The first of the interstate joint conventions following the strike of 1897, which was entered into at Chicago in January, 1898, "by and between the operators and miners of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania," provided as follows:

First. That an equal price for mining screened lump coal shall hereafter form a base scale in all the districts above named, excepting the State of Illinois, the block-coal district of Indiana to pay ten cents per ton over that of Hocking Valley, western Pennsylvania, and Indiana bituminous district; and that the price of pick run-of-mine coal in Hocking Valley and western Pennsylvania shall be determined by the actual percentage of screenings passing through such screens as is hereinafter provided, it being understood and agreed

that screened or run-of-mine coal may be mined and paid for on the above basis at the option of the operators, according to market requirements, and the operators of Indiana bituminous shall also have like option of mining and paying for run-of-mine or screen coal.

Second. That the screen hereby adopted for the State of Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and the bituminous district of Indiana shall be uniform in size, six feet wide by twelve feet long, built of fiat or Akron-shaped bar of not less than five-eighths of an inch surface, with one and one-fourth inches between bars, free from obstructions, and that such screen shall rest upon a sufficient number of bearings to hold the bars in proper position.

Third. That the block-coal district of Indiana may continue the use of the diamond screen of present size and pattern with the privilege of run-of-mine coal, the mining price of which shall be determined by the actual screenings; and that the State of Illinois shall be absolutely upon a run-of-mine system and shall be paid for on that basis.

Fourth. That an advance of 10 cents per ton of 2000 pounds for pick-mined screened coal shall take effect in western Pennsylvania, Hocking Valley, and Indiana bituminous districts on April 1, 1898, and that Grape Creek,

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Ill., and the bituminous district of Indiana shall pay 40 cents per ton run-of-mine coal from and after the same date, based upon 66 cents per ton screened coal in Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and the Indiana bituminous district, same to continue in force until the expiration of this contract.

Fifth. That on and after April 1, 1898, the eight-hour work-day with eight hours' pay, consisting of six days per week, shall be in effect in all of the districts represented, and that uniform wages for day labor shall be paid the different classes of labor in the fields named, and that internal differences in any of the States or districts, both as to prices or conditions, shall be referred to the States or districts affected for adjustment.

Sixth. That the same relative prices and conditions between machine and pick mining that have existed in the different States shall be continued during the life of this contract.

Seventh. That present prices for pick and machine mining and all classes of day labor shall be maintained in the competitive States and districts until April 1, 1898.

Eighth. That the United Mine Workers' organization, a party to this contract, do hereby further agree to afford all possible protection to the trade and to the other

parties hereto against any unfair competition resulting from a failure to maintain scale rates.

This contract was to remain in force for one year from April 1, 1898, and another interstate convention was to be held at Pittsburg in January, 1899. The agreement was signed by operators and mine workers of the States represented (excepting the Ohio operators), and by a representative of the West Virginia miners, as well as by members of the national executive board of the United Mine Workers of America. Later the United Mine Workers attempted to enforce a boycott against the West Virginia product because the operators of that State refused to become a party to the agreement or to abide by its provisions.

These representatives of capital and labor did not agree to all the provisions of the contract in a day, or without heated controversies, which more than once threatened to end the movement. In fact, the Ohio operators, who had insisted upon a five-cent differential against the Pittsburg thin-vein district, refused to sign the agreement, claiming that

the prices arrived at placed them at a disadvantage with competing districts, but they finally consented to its provisions. The variations in the natural conditions in the different districts, the inequality in wages, the differences in the hours of labor each day, and the widely varying terms of employment—such, for instance, as the purchase of powder from the operator, dealing at the company store, etc.,—were so great in the several States and in the different districts within a State as to present what seemed at times almost insolvable problems.

To allay as much as possible the antagonism which these widely varying conditions gave rise to, the Chicago convention provided for a joint committee of two operators and two mine workers from each State to formulate a uniform day-wage scale, based upon the districts upon which the mining prices were based, which was to become a part of the interstate agreement. This committee met at Columbus in March. The scale it adopted for all inside day labor fixed the wages of tracklayers and timbermen at \$1.90, pipemen at \$1.85,

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trappers at \$0.75, and tracklayers' helpers, bottom cagers, drivers, trip riders, water haulers, company men in long-wall mines of third-vein district, northern Illinois, and other inside day labor, at \$1.75. This scale was arrived at by taking the average of the wages paid in all the competitive districts and reducing this average to an eight-hour day, then adding the advance to correspond to the advance in price of mining to be paid in April. "Owing to the variations of conditions over which we have no control," the committee failed to agree upon a uniform rate of wages for the different classes of outside labor for the entire competitive field, but left the employment of these men and the wages to be paid them entirely to the employers and to such employees until the next Interstate Joint Conference. It was agreed, however, that where any of the laborers then engaged in outside day labor in the competitive fields preferred to work in the mine rather than to accept the wages paid to members of their class, they were to be employed to mine coal. An eight-hour day was defined

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as "eight hours in the mine at usual working places for all classes of inside day labor," exclusive of the time required in going to such places in the morning and returning from them at night. Drivers were to take their mules to and from the stables, "their work beginning when they reach the change at which they receive empty cars, but in no case shall the driver's time be docked while he is waiting for such cars at the point named." "When men go into the mine in the morning they shall be entitled to two hours' pay whether or not the mine works the full two hours. But after the first two hours, the men shall be paid for every hour thereafter by the hour, for each hour's work or fractional part thereof. If for any reason the regular routine work cannot be furnished the inside labor for a portion of the first two hours, the operators may furnish other than regular labor for the unexpired time."

The first agreement thus formulated a means of settling many vexed questions. It declared for an equal price for mining screened lump coal as a base scale for all

districts but Illinois; decided that the Indiana block-coal district should pay ten cents more a ton than certain bituminous districts, and settled upon a plan for determining the price of pick run-of-mine coal in the Hocking Valley (Ohio) and western Pennsylvania districts. Rates in the different districts were established and advances determined upon, uniform wages for inside day labor agreed to, eight hours recognized as a day's work, and an understanding reached by which all disagreements over prices and conditions in any district were to be adjusted in that district. With the adoption of a uniform screen for Ohio, the Indiana bituminous, and the western Pennsylvania fields, not only was the size of the screen reduced to the smallest prevailing standard, but to a large extent the screen was abolished entirely (President Ratchford's report to the tenth annual convention of the United Mine Workers). The general effect of this agreement was to advance wages about 18 per cent and to reduce the hours of labor in about the same proportion. More friendly relations between employers and em-

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ployees were established, and, more important even than this, the miners' union was recognized.

The Pittsburg convention of January, 1899, readopted the Chicago agreement as the contract for the scale year ending March 31, 1900. It was also agreed that the machine question of Illinois (outside the Danville district, the basing point, where prevailing prices were to continue) should be taken up during the coming year by the Illinois State convention for adjustment by conciliation or arbitration; and that if it could not be settled by the Illinois State convention, it was to be referred to a board of arbitration, to be composed of seven members. The question in dispute was whether the various districts of Illinois were entitled to any reduction in the Springfield scale differentials, as against Danville, the basing point; and if so, how much. The Columbus inside day-wage scale was to continue.

In February, 1900, at Indianapolis, the joint convention entered into a new agreement for the scale year ending March 31, 1901, as follows:

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It is hereby agreed—

Section 1. (a) That an advance of fourteen (14) cents per ton of two thousand (2000) pounds for pick-mined, screened coal shall take effect in western Pennsylvania thin vein, the Hocking, the basing district of Ohio, and the block-coal district of Indiana. (b) That the Danville district, the basing point of Illinois, shall be continued on an absolute run-of-mine basis, and that an advance of nine (9) cents per ton over present prices be paid in the district named. (c) That the bituminous coal district of Indiana shall pay forty-nine (49) cents per ton for all mine-run coal loaded and shipped as such. All other coal mined in that district shall be passed over a regulation screen, and be paid for at the rate of eighty (80) cents per ton of two thousand (2000) pounds for screened lump.

Section 2. That the screen hereby adopted for the State of Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and the bituminous district of Indiana shall be uniform in size, six (6) feet wide by twelve (12) feet long, built of flat or Akron-shaped bar, of not less than five-eighths ($\frac{5}{8}$) of an inch surface, with one and one-fourth ($1\frac{1}{4}$) inches between bars, free from obstructions, and that such screen shall rest upon a sufficient number of bearings to hold the bars in proper position.

Section 3. That the block-coal district of

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Indiana may continue the use of the diamond-bar screen, the screen to be seventy-two (72) feet superficial area, of uniform size, one and one-quarter inches between the bars, free from obstruction, and that such screens shall rest upon a sufficient number of bearings to hold the bars in proper position.

Section 4. That the differential between the thick and thin vein pick mines of the Pittsburg district be referred to that district for settlement.

Section 5. (a) That the price of machine-mining in the bituminous district of Indiana shall be eighteen (18) cents per ton less than the pick-mining rate for screened lump coal, when punching-machines are used; and twenty-one and one-half ($21\frac{1}{2}$) cents per ton less than pick-mining rate when chain machines are used. When coal is paid for on run-of-mine basis, the price shall be ten (10) cents per ton less than the pick-mining rate when punching-machines are used, and twelve and one-half ($12\frac{1}{2}$) cents per ton less than pick-mining rates when chain machines are used. (b) That the machine-mining rate in the Danville district, the basing point of Illinois, on both punching and chain machines, be thirty-nine (39) cents per ton.

Section 6. That the machine-mining rate in the thin vein of the Pittsburg district, and the Hocking, the basing district of Ohio,

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for shooting, cutting, and loading, shall be advanced nine (9) cents per ton. And that the block-coal district of Indiana shall be advanced eleven and one-half ($11\frac{1}{2}$) cents per ton.

Section 7. That the mining rates in the central district of Pennsylvania be referred to that district for adjustment.

Section 8. That the advance on inside day labor be twenty (20) per cent, based on the present Hocking Valley scale; with the exception of trappers, whose compensation shall be one dollar (\$1) per day.

Section 9. That all narrow, dead work and room turning shall be paid a proportionate advance with the pick-mining rate.

Section 10. That internal differences in any of the States or districts, both as to prices or conditions, shall be referred to the States or districts affected, for adjustment.

Section 11. The above scale is based upon an eight (8) hour work-day.

This Indianapolis agreement was renewed in 1901 and 1902. In February, 1903, the interstate convention decided to continue the Indianapolis agreement for the year ending March 31, 1904, with increases in mining

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prices and inside day wages. On pick-mining in the western Pennsylvania thin vein, the Hocking Valley (the basing district of Ohio and as well of the entire central competitive territory), and the Indiana block and bituminous districts, the increase was 10 cents per ton on inch-and-a-quarter screened lump coal, and in the bituminous district of Indiana and at Danville (the basing point for Illinois) 6 cents per ton on mine-run coal. On machine-mining in western Pennsylvania thin vein and the Hocking Valley the increase was 8 cents per ton, and in the block and bituminous districts of Indiana 10 cents per ton on screened lump coal; in the bituminous field of Indiana and at Danville, the increase was 6 cents per ton on mine-run coal. With the same conditions as those of the Columbus day-wage scale agreement, inside day wages were fixed at \$2.56 for tracklayers, bottom cagers, drivers, trip riders, water and machine haulers, and timbermen, \$1.13 for trappers, \$2.50 for pipemen, and \$2.36 for tracklayers' helpers and other inside day laborers (including company men in long-wall mines of the third-vein

district of northern Illinois). Yardage and dead-work were advanced $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The scale proposed by the operators for the year from April, 1904, was for a reduction in wages of 15 per cent from the scale of the preceding year. That proposed by the mine workers was: (1) An absolute run-of-mine basis for the entire competitive field; (2) a flat differential of 7cents per ton between pick-and machine-mining; (3) continuing the pick price per ton in the Pittsburg district, Hocking Valley, Ohio, Indiana, and the Grape Creek vein of the Danville district of Illinois, the equivalent of the scale of April 1, 1903, to April 1, 1904; (4) inserting "Brushers in long-wall mines, \$2.56," as an amendment to the inside day-wage scale of last year's contract in place of "Company men in long-wall mines of third-vein district, northern Illinois, \$2.36 "; (5) all internal differences to be referred to the districts affected for adjustment; (6) a uniform scale for outside day labor in the competitive field.

Neither the interstate convention, the scale committee, nor the subscale committee could

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agree upon the terms of a contract for the ensuing year; but in the expectation that some way might be found out of the difficulty other than a suspension of mining operations, provision was made, upon the adjournment of the joint conference on February 3, for a committee with power to call a special convention later and before the contract expired in April, 1904. In response to a call from this committee the joint convention reconvened at Indianapolis some twenty-six days later—on February 29. The program of the earlier session was repeated in general—the joint convention, the scale committee, and the subscale committee, after protracted discussions, all failed to come to a satisfactory understanding as to the provisions of a new scale, and adjournment was taken on March 5 with no renewal of the contract expiring on April 1.

At this second session of the convention the operators had submitted a different proposition than their first demand of a wage reduction of 15 per cent, but as many of the miners' delegates to the special session were bound by the

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instructions of their locals, they did not vote in favor of accepting the operators' revised terms. But in order to get the question directly before the mine workers themselves before a strike was resorted to, a special convention of their representatives directed that the final proposal of the operators be submitted to a vote of the mine employees in the several districts within the central competitive territory. This ballot was taken on Tuesday afternoon, March 15, between one and six o'clock, the mines being closed in these particular coal fields between these hours to give every mine worker an opportunity to vote. The balloting was upon the direct issue: The operators' proposition, or a strike. The result, as announced by the national officers of the union, was in favor of a continuance of work under the final conditions proposed by the operators. The vote was: For the operators' proposition, 101,792½; for a strike, 68,485½. The fraction of a vote in each total is explained in the fact that boy members each have one-half a vote. In a circular to the mine employees in the districts

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affected, sent out prior to the balloting, the national officers of the United Mine Workers stated that industrial conditions generally were adverse to the success of a strike at that time, and they recommended the acceptance of the operators' proposition.

This favorable result of the balloting by the mine workers in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and western Pennsylvania was followed by a reconvening of the joint subscale committee at Indianapolis on March 21, which body had no difficulty in coming to an agreement as to the provisions of the new scale. These were as follows:

That the interstate agreement of the present year shall be continued with the same conditions for two years from April 1, 1904, until March 31, 1906, with the following exceptions, to wit:

First. That the price for mining be reduced five (5) cents per ton on inch-and-a-quarter ($1\frac{1}{4}$) screened lump coal, pick-mining, in western Pennsylvania thin vein, the Hocking, the basing district of Ohio, and in both block and bituminous districts of Indiana; three (3) cents per ton on mine-run coal, pick-mining,

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in the bituminous district of Indiana, and at Danville, the basing point of Illinois.

Second. That the price for machine-mining be reduced four (4) cents per ton on screened lump coal in western Pennsylvania thin vein, and the Hocking, the basing district of Ohio; five (5) cents per ton on screened lump coal in the block and bituminous district of Indiana, and three (3) cents per ton on mine-run coal in the bituminous district of Indiana, and at Danville, the basing point of Illinois.

Third. That the inside day-wage scale shall be as follows, with the conditions of the Columbus day-wage scale agreement of 1898, to wit:

Tracklayers.	\$2.42
Tracklayers' helpers.	2.23
Trappers.	1.06½
Bottom cagers.	2.42
Drivers.	2.42
Trip riders.	2.42
Water haulers and machine haulers. . . .	2.42
Timbermen (where such are employed). .	2.42
Pipemen, for compressed-air plants. . .	2.36
Company men in long-wall mines of third-vein district, northern Illinois. .	2.23
All other inside day labor.	2.23

Fourth. That yardage and dead-work be reduced in the same proportion.

Fifth. That internal differences in any of the States or districts, both as to prices and

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conditions, shall be referred to the States or districts affected for adjustment.

Further, in pursuance of the authority vested in us, we hereby call a joint convention of the coal operators and miners of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, to meet at Indianapolis, Indiana, at 10 o'clock A.M., January 25, 1906.

Thus has been indicated in some detail the definite results of the working of the Interstate Joint Conference for the past eight years. We have seen that the contract or agreement entered into between representatives of the coal operators and mine workers of the central competitive territory settles a number of very important questions. It sets the basing point, in each State concerned, for determining prices to be paid for work about the mines; fixes upon 2000 pounds as a ton for the entire central competitive fields included in the agreement; recognizes the two general methods of fixing rates upon a screened-coal or mine-run basis; agrees upon regulation screens where the screen method is in use; establishes a differential between machine- and pick-mining under whichever method employed,

between punching- and chain-machine mining, between thick- and thin-vein pick mines; and makes eight hours a day's work for all classes of mine employees. With these questions agreed upon, the mine employees and the operators in the different State and sub-district conventions are not troubled with these particular problems, but are left free to devote all their attention to other vexing questions which concern a smaller number of mine workers in a smaller area, the settlement of which is none the less of vital importance in reaching some kind of a working agreement.

Because the operators and mine workers in the States comprising the Interstate Joint Conference enter into agreements, it should not be inferred that both sides are perfectly satisfied on all the questions agreed to. This would be expecting the millennium in the industrial world. Besides, there are many other issues between them upon which they never have come to an agreement. In fact, ever since the joint movement was inaugurated, as far back as 1886, there have been differences of opinion between the operators and miners

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upon questions of common interest. On many of these they are still at opposite points of view. As to the advisability of uniform scale provisions for all four States, the mine workers favor and the operators oppose their adoption; friction arises over questions as to machine- and pick-mining, the miners claiming that nearly all the benefits of machine-mining go to the operator; there is always a controversy in the conference over the run-of-mine and screen methods of weighing and paying for the product of the miners' labor, the union insisting that the miner is the sufferer where the coal is screened before payment; even at the present time there is contention between the two parties as to the extent of the union's control over "outside" employees, the operators persisting in their claim that such employees are "company" men. The increasing of the differential between machine- and pick-mining and the establishing of a uniform wage scale for outside employees have also more than once threatened the peace of the joint conference.

These and other disputed questions aside,

however, certain fundamental principles have been established by the joint movement. The "right" of the mine workers to organize for their own protection and for the improvement of their condition of employment is recognized by the operators; the "right" of the men to be represented in settling disputes and agreeing upon the prices for which their labor is to be sold is conceded by the operators treating directly with the officers of the United Mine Workers of America. These two principles are now firmly established in the central competitive coal fields. Not only do the operators of those States depend largely upon the United Mine Workers to enforce upon non-union employees as well as upon its own members the agreements entered into on behalf of the mine employees, but they look to the union rather than to themselves to see that any operator who might attempt to violate the contract is compelled to live up to its terms. In many cases the operators have gone so far as to recognize all their employees, with but few exceptions, as members of the United Mine Workers. The

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joint movement, in brief, has established well-defined "rights" on both sides. These are specified in the agreements, and accompanying them are certain duties which each side recognizes it owes to the other party to the contract.

Since the joint movement was resumed in the central competitive territory in 1898 no strike or lockout of any serious proportions has occurred in any of the States subject to the jurisdiction of the joint agreement. In the four years preceding, during which the agreement had lapsed for various causes, strikes and lockouts and general industrial unrest were the rule rather than the exception. It does not follow, however, that the joint agreement prevents absolutely all possibility of industrial disturbances—this power is not claimed for the movement even by its most ardent advocates. It does tend, however, to establish and preserve industrial harmony between the two conflicting interests, and to secure more stable market and labor conditions. The value of the joint movement is also reflected in the imitation of its principles by other branches of industry.

One point in particular needs to be emphasized, as it takes away much of the strength of the criticism aimed at the joint-conference method for settling disputes between capital and labor. This point is the fact that under its operation there has been effected a reduction in wages as well as increases in wages, and this reduction has been brought about peaceably and without recourse to a strike on the part of the mine workers. This one fact above all others would seem to the writer to place the trade agreement machinery on a sound and enduring foundation as a part of the coming industrial state.

The Iowa and Michigan operators and mine workers have endeavored time and again to secure admittance to the interstate conference of the central competitive territory, but their efforts have been opposed by the operators of Ohio, Indiana, and western Pennsylvania, while the operators of Illinois and the mine workers of all four States have favored admitting the representatives from these two States. For years the United Mine Workers have put forth efforts to bring

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the operators of West Virginia into the joint conference, the work of the organization in this direction being encouraged by the operators of all four States in the joint movement, but the union has so far failed in this seemingly herculean task. As long as the West Virginia operators and mine workers are outside the joint conference agreement the very foundation of the movement in the central competitive fields is threatened. This is the more evident when it is remembered that West Virginia coal competes in the Lake markets with the coal from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and western Pennsylvania. Under the joint agreement as to wages and conditions of employment with the United Mine Workers, the operators of these four States have to meet a greater cost of production on the labor side than the operators of West Virginia, the latter having advantages in cheaper labor, a larger number of hours of work per day by the mine employees, larger mining cars, more pounds to the ton, and in the general conditions of mining, such as weighing, dead-work, dockage, etc. These and other advantages enable West

Virginia operators to send their coal a greater distance to the same market and sell it for a less price per ton than the Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and western Pennsylvania operators can afford to sell. Until West Virginia is brought within the interstate joint conference movement it cannot be said with certainty that the permanency of this method of preventing strikes and lockouts in the coal industry of the country is assured. There is some hope in the fact that through the United Mine Workers there is now being established in that State a portion of the joint conference machinery in what is known as the State Agreement. As this also exists in a number of other coal-producing States outside the interstate movement in the central competitive territory and the Southwestern coal fields, a detailed treatment of its structure and operation is reserved for the following chapter.

CHAPTER III.

THE STATE AGREEMENT.

INTERSTATE joint conventions between coal operators and mine workers, it should be observed, are confined to the central competitive territory and to the Southwestern coal fields, embracing a total of nine States. But through the State or District Agreement, entered into separately in various coal fields by means of joint conferences between operators and mine employees of a State or District, the underlying principles of the interstate movement have secured a foothold, stronger in some than in others, in about nineteen of the more important of the thirty-one coal-producing States and Territories. These State agreements exist in part or all of the coal fields of Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Indian Territory, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Ohio, Pennsyl-

vania, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming. The movement has even extended beyond the United States, in 1905 the United Mine Workers having organized the Fernie District in British Columbia, Canada, and entered into contracting agreements with coal companies there.

The State Agreement or contract is the result of a joint conference between representatives of the operators and of the mine employees of a State or district. These State joint conventions follow the interstate in point of time, and are generally held prior to April 1 of each year, as this is the usual date upon which the agreement goes into effect. Each of the States within the central competitive territory and in the Southwestern fields adopts the contract as agreed to by its Interstate Joint Conference, and then determines upon the prices and conditions of employment which are to prevail within the various sub-districts of the State for the ensuing scale year. With the prices at the basing point fixed in each State by the interstate conference, it is less difficult for the State con-

vention to regulate the prices in the different fields in the State according to that basis, prices for the different kinds of work naturally varying as local conditions are found to require. On questions where an agreement cannot be reached, a joint commission of operators and mine workers is appointed to investigate and settle them. Questions which it is agreed concern only certain sections are referred to sub-district conventions. After the State convention adjourns the operators and mine employees of the sub-districts, usually covering smaller areas within a State where sectional questions are matters of chief importance, hold a meeting, indorse the interstate and State agreements, and then contract for their own local area, covering the requirements of its particular needs.

The main feature of all the State agreements is, of course, the wages to be paid for the different kinds of work. These depend primarily upon the particular occupation—whether the employee is a miner, an engineer, a tracklayer, a laborer, etc. If the employee is a miner, the rate of wages he receives is

determined by a number of conditions, prominent among which is the method of mining under which he works. If he is employed in Illinois, for example, where only the run-of-mine system is in use, he is paid so much a ton for his coal before it is screened. At Danville, the basing point for that State, this price under the 1904-6 agreement was fixed at fifty-two cents a ton. The same price prevails in the bituminous field of Indiana for run-of-mine coal, while eighty-five cents per ton is paid in the same State for mining screened lump coal, and ninety-five cents a ton for mining screened block coal. Eighty-five cents is paid in the thin-vein and about seventy-two cents in the thick-vein pick mines of the Pittsburg field, and eighty-five cents a ton in the Hocking district of Ohio, for mining screened coal. For mining a ton of run-of-mine coal in the Hocking district the price is a little over sixty cents.

At other than the basing point in any State, the price per ton may be more or less than the basis, depending upon the varying conditions in the different fields, which conditions are

taken into consideration in determining the rate. No matter how widely the different prices vary, they are equivalents, that is, they bring to the miner relatively the same wages under whatever system he works. The run-of-mine method is in use throughout the entire competitive territory, by far the greater portion of the coal mined in those fields being produced under this system. If the miner works under the screen instead of the run-of-mine system, a different price per ton prevails, as has been noted above. At present this is eighty-five cents for a ton of 2000 pounds screened lump coal in the bituminous field of Indiana, in Ohio, and in the thin-vein Pittsburg field; ninety-five cents a ton in the Indiana-block coal field, and seventy-two cents a ton in the thick-vein Pittsburg field. The price given for each State is the basis price; it is not paid throughout all the districts of a State, in some the rate being above and in others below the basis, but each results in practically the same wage.

Not only do different prices per ton for mining prevail under the two systems, and

under the same system in different localities, even in the same sub-district, but prices for mining also vary according to whether the coal is pick- or machine-mined, a higher price per ton being paid for pick-mined coal. The rate for machine-mined coal also differs, depending upon the use of punching or chain machines. In Illinois only pick-mining by the run-of-mine method is general; while in Indiana (including both the bituminous- and block-coal fields), in Ohio, and in the Pittsburg field, both pick- and machine-mining by both the run-of-mine and the screen methods are in vogue.

Each State and sub-district agreement fixes its own special prices on narrow and dead work, room turning, and all other work accompanying the miners' calling, but not usually resulting directly in the production of coal. As an illustration: In some places the miner is paid extra an agreed-upon price for bailing water out of his working-place; in others, so much a barrel, in still others, the price is left for agreement, while some operators pay other employees to keep dry the working-place of the miner.

For employees working inside the mine, other than miners, a scale of wages is formulated by the Interstate Joint Conference, as has already been shown, and each State and sub-district convention under its jurisdiction practically adopts this scale in their agreements. This has resulted in the same uniform scale for men engaged in the same occupation no matter in what part of the central competitive coal territory they may be employed. With some slight exceptions, the following inside day-wage scale, giving the minimum day wage for each of the occupations named, is paid at present throughout Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the Pittsburg field of Pennsylvania: For each tracklayer, timberman, brusher in long-wall mines, bottom cager, driver, trip rider, water hauler, and machine hauler, \$2.42; pipeman, \$2.36; tracklayer's helper, \$2.23; trapper, \$1.06½; all other inside day labor, \$2.23. As yet there is no uniform day-wage scale throughout the entire central competitive territory for the occupations classed as "outside day labor," such as the work of carpenters, blacksmiths, engineers,

etc., but each occupation is paid the special price which each State and sub-district convention may agree upon. For most occupations a minimum day wage is set.

The State agreements are in general the same. An idea of their provisions is gained by a study of the Illinois contract which governs in that State at the present time. It enters more fully into details and is more complete in the questions covered than any of the other State agreements. It begins with reference to the interstate agreement of the central competitive territory, and states that, as this contract fixes the pick-mining price of bituminous mine-run coal at Danville at fifty-two cents per ton of 2000 pounds, it is agreed between the operators and mine workers of Illinois that the prices for pick-mined coal throughout the State shall be as follows. And then is given in detail by "fields" in that State (there being as many as nine of them) the prices for mining which are to prevail in each for the scale year.

As to pay days and statements of accounts, it is agreed that the miners of the State are

to be paid twice a month (in lawful money) the balance due them, the dates of pay to be determined locally, but in no event is more than one-half month's pay to be retained by the operator. When any number of men at any mine so demand, statements are to be issued to all employees not less than twenty-four hours prior to pay day, the miners and operators to decide locally as to the form and manner in which the statements are to be issued. No commission is to be charged for wages advanced to employees between pay days, but any such advances are at the option of the operator.

The Illinois agreement goes into considerable detail in explaining the provisions agreed upon by the Interstate Joint Conference and which are made a part of the State Agreement. It quotes from the Chicago agreement of 1898 in explaining the eight-hour work-day agreed upon as a day's work for the miner to be "eight hours work at the face, exclusive of noon time, six days a week, or forty-eight hours in the week, provided the operator desires the mine to work, and no local ruling

shall in any way affect this agreement, or impose conditions affecting the same." Detailed explanations are made as to what an eight-hour work-day means for the other inside and outside employees, it being made plain that the time taken off from work at noon and that consumed in reaching the respective working-places in the morning and departing from them at night is not included in the eight hours.

The scale of prices for mining per ton of 2000 pounds run-of-mine coal, which has been agreed to, refers in every case to coal practically free from slate, bone, and other impurities, loaded in cars at the face, weighed before screening. Under ordinary conditions it also includes the work required to load coal and properly timber the working-places in the mine (it being made the duty of the operator to furnish in rooms or working face the necessary props and timber), and in long-wall mines it includes the proper mining of the coal and the brushing and care of the working-places and roadway according to the method and rules agreed upon. If damage

results through the violation of these rules the miner must repair the same, without compensation, and if he refuses he is to be discharged.

A miner is also to be discharged if he persistently violates the provision that all drilling and blasting is to be according to the State mining law of Illinois. The same penalty is also to be inflicted upon employees who absent themselves from their work for two days, unless through sickness or by first having secured the consent of the mine manager. If the miner persists in sending out slate, bone, sulphur, or other impurities in his coal after he has been subjected to suspension or fines, which punishment increases in severity as the offense is repeated, he is to be discharged. This penalty may also be inflicted if he abuses or seeks to embarrass the trimmer for performing his duty.

The authority to hire and discharge is vested in the mine manager, top foreman, and boss driver. There is to be no discrimination, however, as the operators agree to see that an equal turn is offered each miner, and that

he is given a fair chance to obtain the same. The operators are guaranteed "the hearty support and cooperation of the United Mine Workers of America in disciplining any miner who from ignorance or carelessness, or other cause, fails to properly mine, shoot, and load his coal."

Whenever a controversy arises over any question affecting the union mine worker it is to be settled according to the method provided for in the contract. These clauses of the agreement differ in detail in the various States but in effect they are the same. The provision of the Illinois agreement is as follows:

The duties of the pit committee shall be confined to the adjustment of disputes between the pit boss and any of the members of the United Mine Workers of America working in and around the mine, for whom a scale is made, arising out of this agreement, or any sub-district agreement made in connection herewith, where the pit boss and said miner, or mine laborer, have failed to agree.

In case of any local trouble arising at any shaft through such failure to agree between the pit boss and any miner or mine laborer, the

pit committee and the miners' local president and the pit boss are empowered to adjust it; and in the case of their disagreement it shall be referred to the superintendent of the company and the president of the miners' local executive board, where such exists, and shall they fail to adjust it—and in all other cases—it shall be referred to the superintendent of the company and the miners' president of the sub-district; and should they fail to adjust it, it shall be referred in writing to the officials of the company concerned and the State officials of the United Mine Workers of America for adjustment, and in all such cases the miners and mine laborers and parties involved must continue at work pending an investigation and adjustment, until a final decision is reached in the manner above set forth.

If any day men refuse to continue at work because of a grievance which has or has not been taken up for adjustment in the manner provided herein, and such action shall seem likely to impede the operation of the mine, the pit committee shall immediately furnish a man or men to take such vacant place or places at the scale rate in order that the mine may continue at work; and it shall be the duty of any member or members of the United Mine Workers, who may be called upon by the pit boss or pit committee, to immediately take the place or places assigned to him or them in pursuance hereof.

The pit committee, in the discharge of its duties, shall under no circumstances go around the mine for any cause whatever, unless called upon by the pit boss or by a miner or company man who may have a grievance that he cannot settle with the boss; and as its duties are confined to the adjustment of any such grievances, it is understood that its members shall not draw any compensation except while actively engaged in the discharge of said duties. Any pit committeeman who shall attempt to execute any local rule or proceeding in conflict with any provision of this contract, or any other made in pursuance hereof, shall be forthwith deposed as committeeman. The foregoing shall not be construed to prohibit the pit committee from looking after the matter of membership dues and initiations in any proper manner.

Members of the pit committee employed as day men shall not leave their places of duty during working hours, except by permission of the operator, or in cases involving the stoppage of the mine.

The right to hire and discharge, the management of the mine, and the direction of the working force, are vested exclusively in the operator, and the U. M. W. of A. shall not abridge this right. It is not the intention of this provision to encourage the discharge of employees, or the refusal of employment to applicants because of personal prejudice or

activity in matters affecting the U. M. W. of A. If any employee shall be suspended or discharged by the company, and it is claimed that an injustice has been done him, an investigation to be conducted by the parties and in the manner set forth above shall be taken up promptly, and, if it is proven that an injustice has been done, the operator shall reinstate said employee and pay him full compensation for the time he has been suspended and out of employment; provided, if no decision shall be rendered within five days the case shall be considered closed, in so far as compensation is concerned, unless said failure to arrive at a decision within five days is owing to delay on the part of the operator, in which case a maximum of ten days' compensation shall be paid.

It is understood and agreed that there shall be no more than three members on the pit committee at any one mine.

It is explicitly stated in the Illinois agreement that specified employees, such as the mine manager, his assistant, the top foreman, company weighman, boss drivers, night boss, head machinist, head boiler maker, head carpenter, night watchman, and hoisting engineers—those employees usually acting in superintending positions under the company—are

not subject to a scale of wages made by the United Mine Workers. Men employed upon certain construction work, as the erection of head frames, buildings, scales, machinery, railroad switches, etc., necessary for the completion of a plant to hoist coal, and those at work on extensive repairs or rebuilding the same class of work, are also excluded from the jurisdiction of the union.

In cases of emergency, or in making ordinary repairs to the plant, the operators have the right "to employ in connection therewith such men as, in their judgment, are best acquainted with and suited to the work to be performed, except where men are permanently employed for such work. Blacksmiths and other skilled labor shall make any necessary repairs to machinery and boilers." Provision is also made for day laborers to work overtime or on Sundays whenever necessary, at the rate of wages per hour agreed upon.

In one clause the check-off system is established. By this the operators agree to recognize the pit committee in the discharge of its duties as specified, but not otherwise, and

"agree to check-off union dues, assessments and fines from the miners and mine laborers, when desired, on proper individual or collective continuous order, and furnish to the miners' local representative a statement showing separately the total amount of dues, assessments and fines collected. When such collections are made, card-day shall be abolished. In case any fine is imposed the propriety of which is questioned, the amount of such fine shall be withheld by the operator until the question has been taken up for adjustment and a decision has been reached."

The remaining clauses of the Illinois agreement treat of such subjects as: No market restriction by the refusal of mine workers to load coal into railroad cars; the quality of mine-run coal; pushing coal by miners prohibited; mining and shooting to be according to State mining law; penalties for loading impurities (in which it is provided that the inspector designated by the operator shall be a member of the United Mine Workers of America); price and quality of powder; blacksmithing; price of oil; fatal accidents and

funerals; responsibility for timbering and dead-work; penalty for absence from work; machine differential; rules for use of cage by employees; shaft sinking; rules to govern drivers; yardage and dead-work; operator to keep places dry as practicable; and ambulances, bandages, etc.

In the State Agreement it is usually provided that no changes or conditions are to be imposed for the scale year which will increase the cost of the production of coal in any district in the State, nor shall any demands be made locally which are not specifically set forth in the agreement. The contract is in no case to be set aside "because of any rules of the United Mine Workers of America now in force or which may hereafter be adopted; nor is this contract to be set aside by reason of any provision in their national, state, or local constitutions."

The Illinois agreement is signed by the president and the secretary of The Illinois Coal Operators' Association, and the president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer of District 12, United Mine Workers of America.

In the States where there is no State organization of operators, the agreements are usually signed by committees on behalf of the operators, or by representatives of the different companies, and by the district officials of the United Mine Workers.

Through these agreements not a few of the objects of the United Mine Workers have been attained in a large number of the coal-producing States of the United States, and undoubtedly better conditions of employment as well as higher wages have been secured for the mine employees in those States in particular where the contract principle is in effect. Mr. Frank L. Robbins, of the Pittsburg Coal Company, stated to the interstate conference of the competitive territory in 1904 that the advances granted by the operators since the joint conference movement began amounted to 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent in the past seven years. In that time wages paid for pick-mining screened lump coal per ton have increased from forty-five to eighty-five cents in the Hocking Valley district, which is the basing point for the entire competitive territory. Besides, there

has been a decrease in the number of hours of labor each day in the central competitive area, as well as other improved conditions of employment. Since the great strike of 1897 the mine workers' organization has secured the eight-hour work-day and other advantages to mine employees in Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Indian Territory, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and in parts of Tennessee, Texas, the two Virginias, Washington, and Wyoming. Increases in wages secured during that time in most of these States range from 10 to over 60 per cent. All this is in addition to what the United Mine Workers has done for the mine employees in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania.

The magnitude of the trade-union movement among the coal-mine employees of the United States is indicated in the table on page 117, showing the coal production of the country by States (excluding California and Alaska, Georgia and North Carolina, Idaho and Nevada, North Dakota, and Oregon, which combined produced in 1904 only 850,921

short tons and employed only 2387 mine workers), the average number of employees, and the strength of the United Mine Workers of America according to districts (States). The figures representing the coal production and the average number of employees by States in 1904 are from the report of the United States Geological Survey (Mineral Resources), and those giving the membership of the United Mine Workers by districts are compiled from the report of the national secretary-treasurer of that organization as of November, 1904. It is understood, of course, that the total membership varies for the different months as well as for different years.

To the total membership of the union as indicated in the accompanying table should be added 751, representing the membership of District 18, which has jurisdiction over the Fernie field of British Columbia, Canada, and an additional 129 members who were not included in any district in 1904, making the paid-up membership of the organization in November of that year a total of 260,955.

THE STATE AGREEMENT.

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COAL-MINE WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

State.	Annual Production (Short Tons).	Average Number of Employees.	Members of Union.	Union District No.
Alabama.....	11,262,046	17,811	2,866	20
Arkansas.....	2,009,451	4,580	12,876	21
Indian Territory..	3,046,539	8,487		
Texas.....	1,195,944	2,921		
Illinois.....	36,475,060	54,685	51,167	12
Indiana.....	10,934,379	19,707	12,512	11
Iowa.....	6,519,933	15,629	2,276	8
Kansas.....	6,333,307	12,198	9,841	13
Kentucky.....	7,566,482	14,200	8,314	14
Maryland.....	4,813,622	5,671	2,961	23
Michigan.....	1,342,840	3,549	29	16
Missouri.....	4,168,308	10,137	1,653	24
Montana.....	1,358,919	2,505	7,291	25
Wyoming.....	5,178,556	5,660	1,920	22
Ohio.....	24,434,812	43,691		
Tennessee.....	4,782,211	10,416	33,470	6
Utah.....	1,493,027	1,374	2,388	19
Colorado.....	6,658,355	8,123	424	15
New Mexico.....	1,452,325	1,849		
Washington.....	3,137,681	5,287	2,240	10
Virginia.....	3,583,914	5,430	7,276	17
West Virginia....	32,602,819	47,485		
Pennsylvania:				
Bituminous. ...	97,952,267	135,125	37,412	2
			21,998	5
Anthracite.	73,156,709	155,861	27,646	1
			5,225	7
			10,490	9
Totals.....	351,459,506	592,381	260,075	22

Note.—District 11 is the block-coal field and District 8 the bituminous-coal field of Indiana. District 14 (Kansas) includes also the Rich Hill field of Missouri. District 23 (Kentucky) comprises also a part of Tennessee and

In ascertaining the union's real strength we must allow for members of locals who are not reported to the national offices. Secretary-Treasurer Wilson's report for 1903 says: "An examination of coal-trade reports for the various regions where our organization has an existence convinces me that we cannot have any less than 330,000 members paying into our local unions, and yet the highest membership that has ever been reported to the national office in any one month was 289,836. If this estimate is correct, and I believe it is, there are over 40,000 paying their dues into the local organizations or having them checked off through the various offices, that the locals are not paying per capita tax on to the national organization."

West Virginia. District 16 (Maryland) also takes in the Meyersdale field of Pennsylvania. District 25 (Missouri) includes also the Leavenworth field of Kansas. District 6 (Ohio) also extends over a part of West Virginia. District 19 (Tennessee) comprises also a part of Kentucky. District 2 is otherwise known as the Clearfield district of Pennsylvania, and District 5 as the Pittsburgh field. District 1 takes in the Wyoming field of the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, District 7 the Lehigh field, and District 9 the Schuylkill field.

One explanation of this failure of the locals to report their full membership to the national union is the desire on the part of their officials to divert into their own treasuries the sums that would otherwise have to be turned over to the national organization. This total amount in 1903 exceeded \$96,000.

Allowance must also be made for decreases in the number of paid-up members in good standing in the organization in districts where strikes were in progress at the time the report was made out, because the members on strike are excused from the payment of dues and assessments and in consequence are not included among the full-paid-up members for that period. In Alabama, for example, the total membership in 1904 is given at only 2866, but during that year there was a strike in that State; in the previous year the membership of District 20 (Alabama) was 10,924. District 16 (Maryland and the Meyersdale field of Pennsylvania) shows a decrease in membership from 1786 in 1903 to 29 in 1904, attributable to the same cause. The same explanation accounts for District 15 (Utah,

Colorado, and New Mexico) showing a decrease in membership from 1897 in 1903 to 424 in 1904.

The membership as given in the table compares with the average annual membership for the past seven years as follows: 9731 in 1897, 32,902 in 1898, 61,887 in 1899, 115,521 in 1900, 198,024 in 1901, 175,367 in 1902, 247,240 in 1903, and 251,006 in 1904.

Officials of the United Mine Workers claim that of the 595,000 men and boys engaged directly in coal mining in the United States, approximately 350,000, producing nearly two-thirds of the total soft-coal output of the country, are members of the union at the present time. More than this, they claim that fully eighty-five per cent of the total number of mine workers of the United States are governed, directly and indirectly, by their organization's scale of wages and work under the conditions of employment formally agreed to by it; and that at least ninety per cent of all the coal-mine employees of the country would go out on strike if a national suspension of coal mining is ever found to be necessary by the United Mine Workers.

Not all the members of this organization have agreements made between the representatives of their union and their employers. In District 16 (Maryland and the Meyersdale field of Pennsylvania), for example, the organization enters into no working agreement with the operators; in District 17 (West Virginia and Virginia) there are agreements in the Kanawha field of West Virginia only; in District 15 (Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico) only in the northern field of Colorado do mine employees have contracts. Nor do the anthracite mine workers enter into joint conferences with the operators.

But in the other districts a larger number of mine employees are working under agreements entered into by the union than is indicated by the membership of the organization as given by States in the preceding table. In Ohio, for illustration, the table gives the number of mine workers in 1904 as 43,691 and the full-paid-up membership of the union in that State as 33,470. At first glance this would indicate that there were 10,221 mine employees in Ohio having no agreement,

while as a matter of fact practically every mine worker in that State is a member of the union and is employed under joint agreements entered into with the operators by representatives of that organization. The same is true largely of the figures for Alabama,¹ Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Indian Territory, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Tennessee, Texas, western Pennsylvania, and in the Clearfield section of Pennsylvania. In Washington about two-thirds, in Wyoming about one-third, in central Pennsylvania some two-thirds, and in the two Virginias about one-seventh of the mine workers in those districts have union agreements. In Pennsylvania the largest number of bituminous mine employees who are not members of the United Mine Workers and have no agreements are in the Connellsville coke district and in the Irwin field.

This organization is endeavoring to establish

¹ At this writing the union mine workers of Alabama are involved in a strike the outcome of which will likely determine the permanency or destruction in that State of the joint conference machinery for settling disputes between capital and labor engaged in coal mining there.

the joint-conference method of agreeing upon wages and conditions of employment in the anthracite industry of Pennsylvania, which has an annual production exceeding 73,000,000 short tons valued at nearly \$138,975,000, and which gives employment to over 155,000 hard-coal mine workers. At present these mine employees work under the wages and conditions of employment laid down by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission appointed in 1902 by the President of the United States, and are governed in all questions in dispute with their employers by decisions of the Board of Conciliation created by the Strike Commission. The work of this board is our next theme for discussion.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ANTHRACITE BOARD OF CONCILIATION.

A VIEW of the issues arising between capital and labor in the more important bituminous coal fields of the United States, and an examination of the industrial machinery which has been evolved for their peaceful settlement, largely through the activity of the United Mine Workers of America, has been presented in the two preceding chapters. Issues as equally important in marking the recent progress of the labor movement have arisen between employers and employees in the anthracite-coal industry, but their settlement has been effected, temporarily at least, by somewhat different methods.

These issues in the anthracite industry first became acute in recent years by the strike of the hard-coal mine employees in 1900, which was inaugurated by the United Mine Workers

after unsuccessful efforts on the part of its officials to have representatives of the anthracite-carrying railroads, which practically control hard-coal mining, to meet representatives of the union in a joint conference. The half-way settlement of this six weeks' struggle, through the fear of capitalists that its continuance might endanger the election of the Republican Party's candidate for President of the United States, decided definitely and permanently none of the issues which gave rise to it. Practically the same questions were raised by the United Mine Workers eighteen months later, and the refusal of the operators to accede to the demands of their employees through the union, or to submit the questions to arbitration, resulted in the memorable five months' strike of 1902. This industrial struggle was brought to a close, as is well known, through President Roosevelt's appointment of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission.

Out of the throes of this five months' strike of the anthracite mine employees, and through the decision of the Strike Commission, has come one of the most remarkable and, all in

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all, one of the most successful experiments in enforced industrial conciliation that this country has ever witnessed. This has resulted from the operation of the Board of Conciliation which was established by the Strike Commission appointed to settle the issues between the employees and the employers in the anthracite-coal industry.

At the same time the conciliation board was brought into existence by the award of the Strike Commission, a number of important questions raised by the strike of 1902 were formally passed upon by the Commission itself. The decisions of this body increased wages for different groups of mine workers, such as contract miners, engineers and pumpmen, firemen, and company men; continued the prevailing methods of payment for coal mined; provided for check weighmen or checkdocking bosses, or both; settled a uniform and equitable distribution of mine cars, and provided against the limitation of output by miners; determined the size of the mine car; established a sliding scale of wages; denied alike to operators and mine workers the

exercise of the power of discrimination because of membership or non-membership in any labor organization; and regulated the payment of wages to the laborers of contract miners. In addition, the Commission rendered general recommendations on such vital points as the enforcement of law and protection of property, the employment of children, and the compulsory investigation of industrial disturbances. At the same time, by virtue of the actual conditions existing within the anthracite region, which it was seen would give rise to issues just as important as those passed upon by the Commission, that body called into existence a joint committee of operators and mine workers for settling disagreements between employers and employees.

In its award touching upon the demand of the anthracite mine workers for "the incorporation in an agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the anthracite-coal companies of the wages which shall be paid and the conditions of employment which shall obtain, together with satisfactory methods for the adjustment of grievances which may

arise from time to time, to the end that strikes and lockouts may be unnecessary," the Commission adjudged and awarded:

That any difficulty or disagreement arising under this award, either as to its interpretation or application, or in any way growing out of the relations of the employers and employed, which cannot be settled or adjusted by consultation between the superintendent or manager of the mine or mines, and the miner or miners directly interested, or is of a scope too large to be so settled and adjusted, shall be referred to a permanent joint committee, to be called a board of conciliation, to consist of six persons, appointed as hereinafter provided. That is to say, if there shall be a division of the whole region into three districts, in each of which there shall exist an organization representing a majority of the mine workers of such district, one of said board of conciliation shall be appointed by each of said organizations, and three other persons shall be appointed by the operators, the operators in each of said districts appointing one person.

The board of conciliation thus constituted shall take up and consider any question referred to it as aforesaid, hearing both parties to the controversy, and such evidence as may be laid before it by either party; and any award

made by a majority of such board of conciliation shall be final and binding on all parties. If, however, the said board is unable to decide any question submitted, or point related thereto, that question or point shall be referred to an umpire, to be appointed, at the request of said board, by one of the circuit judges of the third judicial circuit of the United States, whose decision shall be final and binding in the premises.

The membership of said board shall at all times be kept complete, either the operators' or miners' organizations having the right, at any time when a controversy is not pending, to change their representation thereon.

At all hearings before said board the parties may be represented by such person or persons as they may respectively select.

No suspension of work shall take place, by lockout or strike, pending the adjudication of any matter so taken up for adjustment.

The board was organized according to the above plan at Wilkes-Barre on June 25, 1903, with the three district presidents of the United Mine Workers—Messrs. Thomas D. Nicholls, John Fahy, and Thomas Duffy—representing the mine employees, and Messrs. W. L. Connell, of the Wyoming, Samuel D. Warriner, of the Lehigh, and R. C. Luther,

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of the Schuylkill field, representing the operators. These chose a representative of the mining companies as chairman and one of the representatives of the mine workers as secretary of the board. Mr. Luther, deceased, has been succeeded by W. J. Richards, of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, as one of the operators' representatives, and Mr. Duffy by William H. Dettrey, the latter being the new president of District 7 of the United Mine Workers.

The board was not designed to pass upon all the questions growing out of the relation of employees and employers in the anthracite industry. It is in a sense a final court of appeal, and before any disputed point can come before it for settlement efforts must first be made by the interested parties to settle it among themselves. To this end the rules of procedure adopted by the board at its organization meeting provide that:

If any employee or body of employees have any grievance or complaint growing out of the interpretation of the awards of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, or out of the appli-

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cation of said awards or in any way growing out of the relations of employees and employer, said employee or employees directly interested shall present such grievances to the foreman directly in charge of the mine. If there shall be a disagreement with the foreman or a failure on the part of the foreman to satisfactorily adjust such grievances, the employee or employees directly interested or a committee of same shall request an interview with the superintendent or manager of the mine or mines for the purpose of adjusting said grievances. In case of failure to arrive at a satisfactory adjustment of grievances the employees shall present in writing such grievances to the members of the board of conciliation representing the district in which the mine or mines are located, stating fully the grievance which they desire to have adjusted and offering satisfactory proof that efforts have been made to arrive at an adjustment with the superintendent or manager. In case of a failure on the part of the superintendent or manager of the mine or mines to grant an interview to the employee or employees within ten days, the said employees may present in writing to the members of the conciliation board representing their district proof that they have made reasonable efforts to secure such interview. In such case the board of conciliation or the members of the board representing the said district will en-

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deavor to secure for them an interview with the superintendent or manager of the mine or mines in question.

Only after the above action has been taken and the grievance still remains unsettled does the case come formally before the board. It then notifies the company or operator with whom such difficulty or disagreement has arisen, and requests from him a statement setting forth his reasons for not adjusting the matter. Upon the receipt of such a statement the board uses its discretion in requesting the presence of both parties to the disagreement for a full and complete hearing of the case. Provision is also made, in case of any complaints or grievances which may arise on the part of employers, for these employers to present the same to the member of the board representing the district in which the mine or mines are located, the board receiving such complaints and calling for a statement from the employees directly concerned relative to the reasons for such complaint or disagreement, and if the board deems it necessary it will request both parties to the issue to

be present before it for a hearing of the case.

Inasmuch as the award of the Strike Commission provides that no suspension of work shall take place pending the adjudication of any matter brought before the board for settlement, the latter, with the view of preventing strikes and lockouts, has ruled that it will not take up and consider any question referred to it unless the employees shall remain at work, with the understanding that if the board finds the grievances are justifiable its adjustment shall be retroactive.

The board has been in operation a little over two years, and in that time has given to the employers and employees engaged in the hard-coal industry a common meeting ground where the disagreements naturally growing out of the relations between the two interests can be harmonized, to a certain extent at least. It has created for the industry measurably just machinery for preventing sudden and unprovided for interruptions to production and to employment, and in consequence has brought to the 950,000 and more

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residents of the eight anthracite-producing counties a larger measure of peace, industrial stability, and prosperity than those dependent upon the hard-coal industry have enjoyed for a like period during the past quarter of a century. Not the least important of the good effects flowing out of the establishment and operation of the board is its creation and enforcement of standards of industrial morality for both employer and employee.

All this and more is evident from a close study of the operation of the board. Since its organization in June, 1903, to August, 1905, a total of 141 grievances have been submitted to it by both parties to the award of the Strike Commission, and of these, 10 were presented by the operators and 131 by the mine workers. Of the total number of complaints submitted, 19 were sustained, 3 partly sustained, 11 mutually settled, and 3 compromised. Of the remaining, 28 grievances were not sustained, and 46 were withdrawn—a total of 74 specific and formal complaints presented to the board which it may be assumed had not a sufficient basis in justice

to support them. Thirty-one cases are still pending. How many strikes and lockouts would these grievances have precipitated under the conditions following the strike of 1900, and during which time no such tribunal as the conciliation board was in existence to be appealed to?

By far the largest number of grievances before the board have had to do with charges of discrimination on the part of the operators against union employees, a prolific source of strikes following 1900. These cases submitted to the board exceeded 42, of which at least 20 were afterwards withdrawn, in 9 employment was recommended, in 8 the complaint was not sustained, in 2 partly sustained, and 2 were mutually settled. The next largest number of complaints dealt with overtime, the total number of these being 13, of which 6 were sustained, 3 withdrawn, 2 mutually settled, and 2 dropped. Complaints having to do with wages in one form or another totaled 15, of which 4 were sustained, 6 not sustained, 2 withdrawn, and the others satisfactorily settled. Other grievances of the em-

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ployees formally presented before the board and decided by it dealt with such subjects as the price of coal, the check-docking boss, net and gross earnings, the eight-hour day, discharges, reductions, violation of the Commission's award, powder, "topping," Sunday work, the Commission's advance, violation of contract, wage discrimination, the Saturday night shift, pay-check form, back pay, classified wages, car price, yardage price, leaving off work early on pay day, the rent question, the sliding scale, deductions, loading large rock, yardage reductions, etc.

Out of the total of 10 complaints filed by the employers, 5 had to do with strikes, and of these 3 cases were sustained, one settled by the withdrawal of the complaint, and in the other it was decided that the complainant was not a party to the Commission's award. One complaint of the employers referred to holidays, which was settled, and one to idle days, which grievance was later withdrawn.

With the membership of the board equally divided between representatives of the mine

workers and of the operators, one would naturally expect a deadlock on nearly every issue brought before it, and yet, as a matter of fact, this occurred in only 17 of the 141 cases (including the 46 grievances withdrawn) which came within its jurisdiction during the two years and more it has been in operation. In these 17 the services of the umpire provided for in the constitution of the board were called in, and in every case so far his decision has been obeyed, although sometimes unwillingly, by both parties to it. The disagreements passed upon by him, which the board was unable to settle, had to do with the sliding scale, the check-docking boss, discrimination, classified wages, advances in wages, the Saturday half holiday, net and gross wages, discharges, powder and per cent, strikes, and reductions in wages. Of these 17, all but 1 were appealed from the board to the umpire by the representatives of the mine workers. In 7 cases the complaint was not sustained by that arbitrator, in 2 partly sustained, in 4 sustained, and in 1 the umpire decided that the complainants, not being parties to the

Commission's award, had no standing before the board.

Perhaps the most important principle governing the relation of employers and employees which has been settled by the umpire's decision, and which has since been acquiesced in by both parties in the production side of the anthracite industry, is that of the right of discharge by employers. Umpire Carroll D. Wright held that the employer had a perfect right so to do, and is not obliged to give any cause for this action, but it was suggested by the umpire that the employer should give proper notice to the employee. In sustaining this right to discharge, the umpire states that any other view would "compel employers to employ men whether they had work for them or not, and whether the men were incompetent or not, and would thus stagnate business and work to the injury of all other employees." Conversely, an employee has the right to quit the service of his employer whenever he sees fit, with or without giving any cause, provided he gives proper notice. All discharges, as well as all quittals, the umpire adds,

should be made on a reasonable basis. When it is recalled that it was this right of discharge, coupled with alleged discrimination, that lay at the bottom of many of the petty strikes originating in the industry following the industrial struggles of 1900 and 1902, its definite decision by the umpire and final acquiescence in by the mine workers has been of the greatest good in preserving and continuing harmonious relations between the conflicting interests.

In creating the Board of Conciliation, the Strike Commission practically granted one of the demands of the United Mine Workers in the strike of 1902, that of "a means for reaching an agreement as to wages and conditions of employment and the adjustment of grievances so that strikes and lockouts may be unnecessary," although the demand was not granted in the exact form desired by the union. But the establishment of the board has resulted for all practical purposes in a recognition of the union—one of the most important of the issues involved in the controversy which culminated in the strike—and this

recognition has come, too, in spite of the statement in the Commission's award: "Nor does the Commission consider that the question of the recognition of the United Mine Workers of America is within the scope of the jurisdiction conferred upon it by the submission." In determining the composition of the board the natural course was to accord to the majority of the mine workers in each of the three fields the selection of their representatives, and as these majorities in each of the three districts were members of the United Mine Workers, the result has been to make the three district presidents of the union in the three hard-coal fields the representatives of the mine workers on the board. In this manner a practical recognition of the union has followed, and ever since the organization of the board in 1903 the representatives of the operators have been dealing with the duly authorized representatives of the United Mine Workers.

There remain two broad issues for which the United Mine Workers are contending—the establishment of the eight-hour work-day in all occupations in the anthracite mines, and

the recognition of the union to the extent of introducing into the anthracite industry the joint-conference scheme of the union for settling differences between capital and labor, which we have already seen has proven so enduring in a number of the soft-coal-producing States. Whether this particular form of recognition is to be secured at the expiration of the award of the Strike Commission in April, 1906, at which time the present Board of Conciliation goes out of existence, the operators are likely to be called upon to answer. It is safe to conclude that some form of recognition of the United Mine Workers will be the result—if not the joint conference, then the creation of a tribunal along somewhat the same lines as the conciliation board. We believe the way is being pointed out by the work of this body, which has already been described. But its good effects are best illustrated by contrasting the conditions for the eighteen months following the strike of 1900, when there was no mutually agreed upon channel or tribunal for the settlement of grievances between employees and employers, with those existing

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during a similar period of time since the machinery of the board has been in operation.

While a ten per cent increase in wages was granted, the sliding scale for determining wages in the Lehigh and Schuylkill fields abolished, and the powder grievance of the miners in the Wyoming and Lehigh fields remedied by the strike of 1900, the half-way settlement of that contest left many issues undecided. Most serious of all, no machinery acceptable to both the employees and the employers was created for the settlement of the many vexing questions which, it was inevitable, were to arise. In the posted notices acceding to certain of the mine workers' demands, each mining company had promised to take up any grievances with its own employees. The attempts of these employees, through committees made up of members of the United Mine Workers, to settle questions in dispute, gave rise to continual friction and dissatisfaction on both sides, the officials of the companies claiming that the men were entirely unreasonable in their demands and complaints, while the mine workers protested that they

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could not get a just hearing of their grievances from the mining officials of the companies.

For eighteen months following the strike of 1900 the entire anthracite region, and in particular the Wyoming field, was in a state of industrial unrest and uncertainty, as petty strikes at the different collieries followed rapidly one upon the other. At one the men struck because they were not paid semi-monthly; at another for the reason that non-union men were employed to take the places of discharged union men; at one colliery the employees refused to permit the plant to begin operations until drivers who had been discharged for disobeying the rules of the company were reinstated; the few machinists employed by one company struck for a nine-hour work-day with a ten-hour pay, temporarily throwing several thousand other employees out of work; the firemen at one colliery undertook to secure for themselves an eight-hour work-day at the old rate of wages; in cases engineers who had no grievances struck in sympathy with striking firemen; firemen refused to work in a number of collieries in which officials

attempted to introduce the "swing" shift; all the employees at one colliery laid down their tools because the company refused to reinstate striking firemen.

There were persistent claims of the employees that new men were employed at old rates in the places of former employees who were discharged; that some of the companies were not paying the promised increase of ten per cent in wages; that they were not living up to the promises made in the posted notices and which had induced the men to return to work; that committees representing the men were discharged for presenting grievances; and that superintendents and other officials of the mining companies refused to treat with committees of mine workers. In not a few cases men remained away from the collieries on Good Friday, April 1 (a date observed as a holiday by the mine workers in recognition of the eight-hour work-day movement), and on other days, without notifying the colliery officials, thus interfering with production, and which was followed at some collieries by a lockout of a day or two. The most serious

interference with mining operations at this period was the strike inaugurated by the Stationary Firemen's Association on July 15, 1901, upon the refusal of the mining companies to grant to this class of employees an eight-hour work-day with a twelve-hour pay. This strike threw nearly 75,000 mine workers into idleness and closed the greater number of the mines for several days, particularly in the Wyoming field.

So trifling and unreasonable were some of the causes of, or excuses for, these petty strikes that at a convention of District 1 (the Wyoming field) a resolution was adopted by the United Mine Workers suspending for three months members of local unions engaging in a strike without the consent of the district executive board. The convention instructed the officials of the union to demand written agreements from the mining companies. The one cause more than any other giving rise to these petty strikes was the refusal of the officials of many of the mining companies to permit the inspection on company grounds by union men of the working cards of employees.

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The operators had steadfastly refused to recognize, in the slightest degree, members or representatives of the United Mine Workers, and this position they continued to cling to tenaciously. They were willing, they claimed, to adjust all grievances with committees of their own employees, but they would have nothing to do with representatives of the union. They pointed to these petty strikes as indicating, they claimed, that the United Mine Workers was unable to control the employees, and that the influence of the organization was injurious to the industry.

The labor situation confronting the anthracite industry following the strike of 1900 was described as follows by President Thomas, of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, in his letter of February 20, 1902, in reply to a request from officials of the United Mine Workers for a conference between the operators and the mine employees: "The depreciation in the quantity of work produced per man has amounted to 12 per cent, and from April to October there have been no less than 102 interruptions of work occasioned by unwarranted demands

and agitation by members of your association resulting in a loss of over 900 days' work and over 600,000 tons of production; most of them were brought about by unwarranted causes, and there has been an apparent disposition on the part of the younger element to keep the whole territory in a condition of unrest, a condition that is certainly not for the best interests of either the corporations or the employees. In some cases mines have been closed for long periods and some of them are still closed, because the members of your association decline to allow men not belonging to that organization to work in the same mine. Not only that, but in many of the mines the drivers have, at different times, declined to deliver cars to non-members of your association." A similar letter of President Baer, of the Reading interests, stated that: "A careful analysis of the results of last year's operations shows that the efficiency of our mines has decreased 1,000,000 tons, because the contract miners have worked only four and one-half to six hours a day. The number of tons produced by each miner

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has decreased from 11 to 17 per cent. The average shows a decrease of about 12½ per cent."

In contrast with this dismal picture of labor conditions following the strike of 1900, we have that in the same industry presented since the strike of 1902 by the operation of the conciliation board. From the time of its organization in June, 1903, down to January, 1905—a period of eighteen months, equal in length of time to that above examined—125 grievances have come under its jurisdiction. All these were cases which the mine employees and the company officials were unable to settle among themselves, and which would in all probability have resulted in strikes in each instance under the conditions prevailing in 1901. Instead, all these 125 cases were settled by the board, or by the umpire its organization provides for, without a single serious interruption to mining operations. In all this time but one strike of any importance has occurred in the entire anthracite region—that of the employees of the Red Ash Coal Company in 1903 and which continued about

six months. But this company was not a party to the Commission's award and in consequence the grievances of its employees, which resulted in the strike, did not come within the jurisdiction of the conciliation board. The United Mine Workers not only did not sanction this strike, but its officials repudiated the action of the employees, which latter carried on an independent contest with their employers.

It is safe to say that, had it not been for the Board of Conciliation, somewhat the same labor and industrial conditions would have prevailed in the anthracite region since the strike of 1902 as we have seen followed the struggle of 1900, because practically the same issues came up for settlement in both periods. In one, there was no mutually recognized machinery for reaching a satisfactory agreement upon any of the disputed questions; in the other, both the mine workers and the operators, not leaving out of consideration the public, had complete confidence in the decisions of the conciliation board. If this machinery for settling grievances had pre-

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vailed in the period following the strike of 1900, we should have had a different story to tell.

If any justification of President Roosevelt's fortunate interference in bringing about a settlement of the strike of the anthracite mine workers in 1902 were needed at this late day, it can be found in the work of this Board of Conciliation, which the President's commission established. A review of its operation presents a composite picture of one of the most successful experiments in industrial conciliation ever tried in this country. And the experiment is of more than ordinary interest in that its initiative came from the national government. If no other good had come out of this memorable industrial contest, the establishment of such a tribunal and its success in settling controversies between the mine employees and the anthracite operators would alone repay all the cost of that conflict, stupendous as this cost has been in many ways. Its value will be all the more strongly emphasized if it leads to the establishment in the anthracite industry of the joint-conference plan for agreeing upon wages and conditions of employment.

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This hope was expressed by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission. The suggestion of a working agreement between employers and employees embodying the doctrine of collective bargaining, it says in its award, contains many hopeful elements for the adjustment of relations in the mining regions. "When under the award the parties have faithfully obeyed its terms and thus learned to deal with each other," the Commission says, "a trade agreement between operators and an anthracite mine workers' organization may commend itself to both sides. We believe this, especially when it is considered that in other directions, and in other industries, such agreements have been made and adhered to for terms of years, completely avoiding strikes and labor controversies generally. Of course, here and there in the bituminous regions, these agreements may not have worked with perfect satisfaction to both parties, and in some districts they have been abandoned after a brief trial, but on the whole the experience under them in this country, and in England, testifies to their great usefulness in preserving peace and har-

mony." Notwithstanding its rulings that the United Mine Workers of America was not a party to the questions submitted before the Commission, and that the question of the recognition of this labor organization by the operators was not within the scope of the jurisdiction conferred upon it by the submission, the Strike Commission endorses the principles of the trade agreement in these words: "The Commission agrees that a plan, under which all questions of difference between the employer and his employees shall first be considered in conference between the employer or his official representative and a committee chosen by his employees from their own ranks, is most likely to produce satisfactory results and harmonious relations, and at such conference the employees should have the right to call to their assistance such representatives or agents as they may choose, and to have them recognized as such."

In contrast to this joint-conference or trade-agreement method of settling industrial issues, the Trade Union also offers the Strike.

CHAPTER V.

THE TRADE UNION AND THE STRIKE.

NOTHING is easier than to overemphasize particular aspects of a great social movement. It is equally true that nothing is more difficult than to place the proper emphasis on all its important phases. If the writer has erred so far in this, it has been deliberately on the side of indicating the peaceful and usual methods of the Trade Union rather than in calling attention to its machinery for war, which latter every serviceable institution must have. But it is necessary that these methods of warfare should be referred to in an account of a Trade Union, and particularly so of such an organization as the United Mine Workers, which has had all too frequent occasions to make use of its weapons of offense and defense.

So many people associate violence, bloodshed, and the taking of human life and the

destruction of property with the trade-union movement, through frequent reading of strikes, that it has obscured their view of the entire labor movement and has biased their judgment as to its significance. Unfortunately, all that most of us know of the Trade Union is gained solely from newspaper accounts of strikes, in which disorder, lawlessness, and bloodshed are not infrequently made the conspicuous feature. In truth, this presents a wholly erroneous foundation for passing judgment upon and in gauging fairly and accurately the principles of the labor movement.

A Strike is simply a piece of industrial machinery, if it may be so termed, which the organization of the Trade Union provides for the attainment of well-defined and laudable objects. Its operation does not necessarily mean the violation of law, or the destruction of property, or the taking of human life. All these, where in evidence, are unforeseen incidents to the conduct of a great strike for any long period, and are the manifestations of aroused human passion and class hatred. No

Illustration

one would question the use of a revolver in the hands of a husband defending his wife and children and home from the violation of its sanctity by outlaws, but most of us would condemn the employment of the same weapon in the hands of the outlaws for the accomplishment of their designs. And yet the weapon in both cases is a revolver. So it is with the Strike; it is simply a weapon for the attaining of certain well-defined ends. In the hands of men defending their Standard of Living from the cupidity and inhumanity of particular members of the employing class, the Strike is of the very greatest social value. But like the revolver, it can be misused, as in the case of self-seeking individuals masquerading under trade-union principles, but because of that misuse the weapon should not be condemned. It is no more possible for the Trade Union to prevent the Strike from falling into the hands of those who misuse it, than it is for the Law to prevent revolvers from coming into the possession of outlaws. The Strike has performed and will continue to perform a most useful function in the progress of the

trade-union movement, and consequently in the onward march of American civilization.

It is true that the course of the labor movement has been marked by the taking of human life and the destruction of property, just as has been the case in the creation of the State and the establishment of the Church.✓ But the Church, by its elevated standard of the sanctity of human life, has saved to civilization the lives of more people than have been taken by all the religious wars of all the centuries; and the State, in working for the establishment of and in safeguarding equal opportunities to all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, has taken and continues to take human life, yet the number is infinitesimal compared to those lives these principles have preserved. The same is true of every institution of which our modern civilization can boast. The why and the wherefore are easily to be explained in the theory of the adjustment of the principles of new institutions to those created for society by older established ones. This is not said as an apology for the taking of human life in strikes. No one regrets this

manifestation of the progress of the Trade Union more than does the writer, and yet if he had to choose between preserving the lives that have been so lost and retaining the Trade Union as an institution, it would not be in favor of the former. This decision would be made in the firm belief that in the attainment of its objects—in throwing more safeguards around the workingman, especially in hazardous employments; in securing better sanitary arrangements in factories and mills, in preventing the employment of children at tender ages, in securing higher wages, in reducing the hours of employment, in raising the Standard of Living, and in innumerable other ways—in these directions the Trade Union is saving for society more lives than have been taken in all the industrial conflicts of which history gives any record.

The Strike justifies itself either as a weapon of offense or defense in the protection, as a last recourse, of the Standard of Living of the American workingman. It is, economically, simply the refusal of a number of workingmen, usually organized in an association, to sell

their labor for less than a stipulated price or to work under other than specified conditions of employment, coupled with the refusal of the purchases of that labor—the employer—to accede to the demands. We have seen in preceding chapters how this situation may be averted through the joint-conference plan of “bargaining” over the terms and conditions. In contrast with this peaceful and sane method, which may properly be called “The Reign of Reason,” we have the Strike. Any study of trade-unionism which failed to treat of the machinery of the Strike would be as incomplete as the history of a nation which omitted a treatment of its methods of warfare.

A knowledge of the strike machinery of a Trade Union cannot be gained from a study of the organization's constitution. This machinery is built up very largely from actual conditions and is not and cannot be governed by rules and printed regulations. Its workings can only be examined through close observation, as the nature and intricacies of its manifestations are subtle and difficult to discern. They are equally difficult of accurate descrip-

tion. This account is drawn largely from actual experience in strikes carried on by the United Mine Workers of America.

Realizing that the primary object of a Trade Union in inaugurating a strike is to secure a specified wage and well-defined conditions of employment, its first object is to control the Law of Competition in that particular industry so that labor cannot be sold there for less than the wages asked or under other than the specified conditions of employment. To do this the employees in that industry must first be persuaded to refuse to sell their labor except upon the union's terms. This is secured from some by their becoming members of the union and abiding by its rules and regulations, and this is accomplished usually through the organizers—the “agitators” or “walking delegates,” as some would have them called. It is safe to say that no strike can be inaugurated with any prospect of its success unless a considerable number of the employees are bound together in a community of interest to support actively the demands of the union. These men form

the nucleus of the Trade Union and are a powerful entering-wedge in persuading others who sell their labor in the same market to raise its price or to refuse to lower the price, as the case may be. This is done by creating a public sentiment among the group of workers and in the particular community through mass meetings, addresses and proclamations of the leaders, by boycotting, picketing, ostracism, marches, and in innumerable other ways devised as occasion may arise.

In controlling the ordinary supply of labor in the industry, committees of union men visit personally every man employed who has not already been captured by the organizers, and his position is definitely ascertained. This is one of the most important uses of picketing, by means of which men are met on their way to and from work, ~~the pickets~~ being located at their homes, around the collieries, and along the highway, or wherever there is the possibility of meeting men who continue at work. So severe was the picketing in the strike of 1902 in the anthracite fields that many of the mining companies

surrounded their collieries with [high board fences, having strands of barbed wire strung along the top. Guards at the entrances prevented access to the men at work, who remained inside the grounds day and night. In fact some collieries became regular stockades. To the employees continuing at work the pickets at first have recourse to the powers of friendly and peaceable persuasion, but if these fail to induce the men to join the union, or, if not this, at least to remain away from work, then upon the non-union men are brought to bear social forces verging upon lawlessness, and overstepping the safeguards the State has thrown around individual liberty, which only a strong public sympathy with the cause of the union will support. The most important of these social forces ~~are~~ ostracism and ~~boycotting with their accompanying~~ manifestations.

Ostracism is a stronger social force in maintaining a high standard of personal conduct than most of us realize. It means banishment or exclusion from social intercourse or favor, and is usually employed by a par-

ticular group against members of its own class or craft. Its most effective weapon is some term of reproach coined for the purpose. Lawyers, for example, who do not come up to the standard set for that profession by its dominant group, are ostracised and termed "shysters." So it is with the medical profession: Physicians engaged in questionable practices which the dominant group denounce are ostracised by the more reputable practitioners with the reproachful term "quack." The same social force is at work among the industrial classes. Union men set a standard as to wages and conditions of employment in a particular industry, and those workingmen who fall below that measurement, in offering their labor for a less price, are ostracised and denounced as "scabs." Whether the group be doctors or lawyers or workingmen, whatever it adopts as the standard of measuring conduct along particular lines is sooner or later taken up by the broader social grouping in the community and accepted as its standard of judgment. This is particularly and strikingly true of a community closely identi-

fied with an industry the livelihood of whose members depends upon the industry's activities and in which a dominant group (usually members of a Trade Union) creates the industrial standard. This explains the attitude of hostility an industrial community exercises towards the "scab." It explains, also, perhaps, how men far removed from the influence of the working classes can look upon the "scab" as a hero.

The social force of ostracism, put into operation by the working of the Trade Union, is directed, and particularly so in strike times, not only against the "scab" himself, but also along all those channels of social relations affecting him and which might have influence upon him in bringing about action conformable to the standard of the dominant group. The strength of this weapon in the strike of the anthracite-mine employees in 1902 caused union men and their families to refuse to associate with the workingman who continued his employment in the mines; it expelled a prominent and otherwise highly respected citizen from a benevolent society which had

for its object the assisting of sick members and the defraying of a part of the funeral expenses of those who died, and of which he had been a member in good standing for more than twenty-seven years; it forced a member of a temperance society who had been faithful and active for twelve years, to resign; it caused children of striking mine workers not only to refuse to attend the school of a woman teacher whose aged father was a watchman at one of the mines, but they also demanded that she be discharged. Children of union miners would not attend Sunday-school with their former playmates whose relatives continued at work; members of the Lacemakers' Union employed at a silk-mill refused to work alongside girls whose fathers and brothers would not strike; clerks were dismissed from stores and business establishments because they were related to men who continued at work in the mines; congregations in more than one religious denomination were split into factions by union members refusing to worship alongside non-union mine workers; even promises of

marriage were broken through relatives of one or the other of the contracting parties being non-union workers. The "scab" was not infrequently held up to public scorn and ridicule by the publication of his name in the "unfair list" of the newspapers in the mining towns as being "unfit to associate with honorable men"; he was represented by name on signs attached to effigies dangling from electric-light, telegraph, and telephone poles and wires and from trees in front of his home and along the highways and streets; a grave in his yard with his name placed upon the board at the head to represent a tombstone not infrequently confronted him; the sign of "the skull and cross-bones" was painted on his house, and in innumerable other ways, conceivable only by workingmen whose imaginative faculties have been aroused by the desire for persecution of others who oppose a cause which is so vital to their home and family, was created a public sentiment against the non-union employee.

Another weapon employed by the Trade Union, and which gathers all its force in

strike times, is the boycott. It is a companion to ostracism, in fact is not always clearly distinguishable from the latter, and yet it reaches points where ostracism cannot be made effective. The boycott is sent home to a man's "bread-and-butter" closet. Like ostracism, it is aimed by the Trade Union primarily against the members of its own industrial group or craft who continue at their employment, and this, too, none the less so because it is aimed indirectly. It is also made effective in cases against openly avowed enemies of the union. In strike times the boycott affects directly storekeepers who sell the necessities of life to the non-union man by placing them under a ban, but its object is more for the purpose of influencing and affecting the latter than it is to injure the former, although both results usually follow. The boycott is also aimed in strike times at individuals and groups who, intentionally or otherwise, lend aid to the non-union employees. This weapon was first used by Land Leaguers in Ireland, and secured its name from a Captain Boy-

cott, who was the first notable victim of its use.

In the strike of the anthracite-mine workers in 1902, through fear of the effectiveness of the boycott, landlords were compelled to refuse accommodation to non-union men brought into the districts to take the places of the strikers; servant girls in public hostelries would not cook for or wait upon them; barbers declined to shave them; merchants and saloonists would not have them for customers; and dairymen refused to supply them with commodities. Individuals and groups in the community, having no direct connection whatever with the issues of the struggle, were nevertheless affected by the wide-spread extent of the boycott in its seeking out all the social channels for reaching the non-union man. Physicians were compelled by its force to decline attendance upon, and druggists to refuse medicine to, not only the non-union men themselves, but to their families also. In some cases the dead lay unburied because of the fear of the undertaker that the boycott would be directed his way. The use of this

weapon, as has been indicated, is over an almost unlimited field of social activities, but the Trade Union is not likely to enforce it to the extent of losing the sympathy of the public. This support is one of the most valuable assets of the Trade Union in times of strikes, and the writer does not believe any strike has ever been won or ever will be won without it or in opposition to it.

Successful labor leaders recognize this fact, and in this respect are more shrewd than their otherwise keen antagonists of the industrial corporations with whom they usually draw swords. One of the first acts of the Trade Union in strike times is to inform public opinion as to its position and its view of the issues involved. Through their own group and those touching upon it from all sides are spread the convictions of the organization's leaders. By means of mass meetings, interviews for the press, proclamations, and the like they aim to reach the widest circle possible, not only within the community where the particular industry is located, but that broader public which consumes the

product of the industry or industries involved in the strike. This problem of the Trade Union naturally differs according to the character of the industry. At the beginning of the strike it is essential for the success of the union that a favorable public opinion be created in the community within which the strikers must employ such weapons as ostracism and boycotting. But the securing of a strong favorable public opinion outside this particular community varies, in the ease or difficulty of its attainment, according to the nature of the commodity the industry produces. In the strike of the iron and steel workers in 1901, for example, a strong public sympathy for these workers could not be created throughout the country, very largely because this public was far removed from direct injury or suffering by the shut-down of the steel mills, in that the use of iron and steel did not come home close to the average individual in his every-day life. But in the case of the anthracite-mine workers, a strong public interest was inevitable because nearly everybody, particularly in the centers of the greatest density

of population in the Eastern States, consumed coal. Ordinarily, this public opinion would be adverse to the support of the strikers, as a strike almost necessarily means an increase in the price of the particular commodity whose production is affected—at least a temporary increase—and the easiest way to create an unfavorable public opinion towards such a cause is to affect adversely the price of an article to a large body of consumers. This public sentiment varies according to the intensity of the demand for the commodity, it being noticeable in the strike of the mine workers that public interest in the strike grew as the winter months approached.

Mass meetings, addresses, proclamations, and the like serve the Trade Union a very useful purpose in creating and maintaining a favorable public opinion. Besides, they tend to keep enthusiasm alive within the union ranks, and to add recruits and converts. One of the most impressive and dramatic scenes the writer has ever witnessed was the mass meeting of the mine workers of the G. B. Markle and Company at the ~~J~~Jeddo schoolhouse, a few

miles from Hazleton, in Pennsylvania, on September 19, 1900. President Mitchell, of the miners' union, endeavored to persuade the mine employees of this company to join the other hard-coal workers on strike; while Mr. John Markle, the managing partner of the company, addressing the same men at the same meeting, urged them to live up to the agreement they had entered into with his company to arbitrate their grievances, and at the same time to continue their regular employment. It was a most trying time in the conduct of the strike. At a critical moment in the progress of the meeting, when it was evident the men did not know just what to do, the late Father Phillips, one of the popular priests of the day among the mine workers, spoke to the miners in favor of Mr. Markle's position. Confronted by defeat not only at the Markle mines but through this, perhaps, in the conduct of the strike throughout the entire region, the oratorical powers of persuasion of the union leader, with their picturesque setting, presented a dramatic climax unsurpassed in human interest. These mass

meetings are held frequently during strike times and are usually preceded by a parade of the employees on strike. The attendance ranges from a few hundred to as many as ten or fifteen thousand, and because of the large number of different nationalities engaged in anthracite mining it is not infrequent for addresses to be delivered in as many as seven different languages.

Not alone through speeches of the union leaders at mass meetings, which are reported more or less at length in the newspapers, but also by means of proclamations or statements issued as occasions require, does the Trade Union influence public opinion and strengthen the belief of its own members in the support of the issues it is advocating. These proclamations are given a conspicuous place in the news of the day by the press and form the basis for editorial discussion. They are coming to have more and more a prominent place in the conduct of a great strike as the Trade Union becomes more thoroughly organized along business lines. One indication of this is the nature and value to the union's

cause of such statements as were issued in the strikes of the anthracite-mine workers by President Mitchell. At no time in the history of the labor movement in this country were such remarkable manifestos made public by any labor leader as were his replies to the operators and his presentations to the public of the striker's side of the controversy.

Where the work of the union men through ostracism, boycotting, picketing, public opinion, and like forces is not effective in preventing a supply of the ordinary labor in the industry from being sold to the employers, recourse is had to "marches." These were more conspicuous in the 1900 strike of the anthracite-mine workers than in that of 1902 principally for the reason that there was greater need of their adoption in the former period. For months after the inauguration of the 1902 strike practically all the mines remained closed, but when the operators attempted to resume mining operations in September and October picketing and marches became more frequent. Marches usually take place in the early morning or evening hours, at the time the workingmen

are on their way to or from their places of employment, the purpose of the marches being to persuade the men to quit work. It was while on one of these marches in the Lehigh field in 1897 that the bloody Lattimer shooting took place in which seventeen and more mine workers were killed by deputy sheriffs.

One of the largest marches within the knowledge of the writer (he being a participant in it in company with some twenty other newspaper correspondents) was the march on Panther Creek, which took place in the anthracite region in September, 1900. At that time practically all the collieries in the Lehigh field had closed down with the exception of the ten operated by the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company in the Panther Creek valley. Under the direction of "Mother" Jones and other leaders of the strikers, some 5000 and more mine employees assembled at MacAdoo, about three miles from Hazleton, at 10 o'clock one night and marched on foot from there over the fifteen miles of public highway towards the collieries of the Coal and Navigation Company. The newspaper corre-

spondents were in front in carriages, then came several band-wagons filled with women—the wives and sweethearts of the mine workers—and then alternately bands and strikers and drum corps, with here and there along the columns large American flags conspicuously displayed. By four o'clock the next morning the army of strikers had passed through Tamaqua, where its ranks had been swelled by several thousand organized strikers from the Schuylkill field. A few miles above Tamaqua, at the lower entrance to the Panther Creek valley, just as the sun was gilding the heavens with the glory of the morning, and within sight of the collieries the marchers had come all the long distance to close, the front ranks of the strikers were met by the bayonets of the Pennsylvania National Guard. The weary mine workers were turned back without accomplishing the purpose of the midnight march. One body of miners, however, which had entered the valley from its upper end, succeeded in closing one colliery and in forcing the men there to quit work.

In addition to controlling the ordinary

supply of labor in the industry, the Trade Union aims to prevent the introduction of labor from other sources while the Strike is in progress. This labor is usually brought in from districts outside the strike area, and the men possessing it are called "imports" by the unionists. Every railroad station and other channels of access to the industry are picketed night and day, and the strikers exert their best efforts to prevent the new men who are brought in from taking their places at the collieries, at times going to the extent of paying the return fare of the men imported if they will leave the affected district. In this object the Trade Union conducting the Strike is assisted by labor organizations in the large cities, the usual sources of additional labor supply at such times. It is not infrequent, on occasions of strikes in the coal mines, for operators to import negroes from the Southern States and immigrants from the seaboard cities. That all members of the United Mine Workers, who are employed over wide areas, may know of the strike-affected districts so that they will not go

there for work, it is customary for the *Journal* of the organization to give a conspicuous place to warnings. The accompanying notice is a reproduction of such a warning appearing in the United Mine Workers' *Journal* of October 26, 1905. Sometimes they occupy two, three, and even four columns in width of the *Journal*, large black-faced type making them appear as conspicuous as the "scare" head-lines of certain newspapers.

NOTICE.

**Keep away from Alabama.
There is a strike there. Do not
be misled by agents who tell you
there is no strike. Keep away
till further notice.**

The efforts of the Trade Union do not end with keeping the old employees away from their former work places and in preventing new men from securing their positions. In case the contest promises to be a long one, as was true of the struggle of the anthracite

employees in 1902, it is just as important for the labor organization to find other employment for its members temporarily out of work by the Strike. This is not always possible, but the situation in 1902 favored the efforts of the United Mine Workers in this direction to an unusual degree. In every industry there is to be found one particular group of employees whose specially skilled labor is essential to its conduct. This group, more than any other, the Trade Union aims to control. In the anthracite industry the skilled *miners* make up these employees, and it was of the greatest advantage to the leaders to keep these particular mine workers in employment elsewhere while the strike continued, for without them very few of the remaining 110,000 mine employees would be able to resume work in case the union lost control of them. Nearby bituminous-coal districts, upon which fell an additional demand for fuel by the hard-coal mines being closed, absorbed some of the anthracite miners, while others secured work in different industries of adjacent cities in which the skill of the

miner made him a welcome employee. The strike leaders realized that in this way they could not only control very largely the group which held the key to the situation in a supreme crisis, but also by their employment elsewhere they would lessen the number for whom relief would have to be given when that problem became a pressing one, while at the same time their earnings would aid in postponing that time and in furnishing that relief when it would have to be given.

In this relief question we touch upon possibly the most vital problem of the Trade Union in times of strikes. Owing to the fact that wage-earners as a class live from week to week upon their wages and that when these stop they verge upon starvation and distress, it is absolutely essential to a Trade Union that some provision be made to support the workmen during the greater part of a strike. This necessity has led to the creation of defense funds in times of peace, most organizations realizing that the larger this fund the less the possibility of a long-continued industrial struggle. In consequence not a few labor

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unions have accumulated large sums of money for such an emergency. We have seen elsewhere how this is done by the United Mine Workers of America, largely through dues and assessments from its members. Subscriptions are also depended upon and special arrangements are made for securing contributions from other labor organizations and the public in strike times to swell this fund.

So well fortified was the miners' union in the strike of 1902 that it was able to distribute a total of \$1,890,202 among needy anthracite-mine workers, and there was remaining in its treasury nearly \$765,000 more for the same purpose if it had been needed. In this relief work no distinction was made between union and non-union men, aid being furnished as freely to the latter as to the former. For this relief work the members of the locals were organized into committees of various kinds. Applications for relief were investigated by one of these committees, and if conditions were found as represented, orders for merchandise on local grocers were furnished. On the face of the order was stated the amount

for which it was drawn; on the reverse side were blanks for the dates, name, quantity, and price of the articles purchased. Both the merchant and purchaser signed the order, when goods to its face value had been bought, and then returned it to the committee, which presented it to the district secretary-treasurer for payment. This officer then secured direct from national headquarters the necessary amount with which to pay the bills. In some parts of the Schuylkill field it was found necessary for the union to establish commissaries and furnish the needy with food direct from its own supplies. In some parts of the West Virginia field, while the strike there was in progress, scores of tents were erected in the woods for sheltering strikers who were driven from their homes. Food and clothing bought in carload lots by the national union was shipped from the large cities to the disturbed districts and distributed among the strikers.

In the Meyersdale district of Pennsylvania some 1500 families have been dependent upon the union for their support for nearly two

years because of a strike inaugurated in that field in 1904. Since July, 1905, about 8,000 families of mine workers in Alabama have been supported for the greater part of this time through union relief, the expenditure of the United Mine Workers for this purpose alone in that State averaging \$10,000 a week. In Colorado and Utah for three months in 1904 the United Mine Workers expended an average of \$15,000 a week in the conduct of a strike.

Practically all the strikes carried on by the United Mine Workers from 1898 down to 1904 were for increases in wages and improved conditions of employment. Since 1904 most of the strikes inaugurated by this organization have been directed against reductions in wages and to prevent a return to former conditions of employment. From an aggressive or offensive attitude in the first-mentioned period the union has been forced by adverse industrial conditions the past two years to be on the defensive. Its officials have aimed since 1904 to retain if possible the advantages gained for its members in the preceding seven years.

In this they have not always been successful, as witness the result of the joint-conference agreement of 1904 when a reduction of wages in the central competitive territory was agreed to by a vote of the members of those States.

The prominent part the Strike has played in the operation of the United Mine Workers is indicated in the financial affairs of the organization. During the four years from January 1, 1901, to November 30, 1904, it has conducted no less than twenty-two strikes in the various coal districts of the country of sufficient importance to demand relief from the union's treasury. For these four years this aid to strikers has cost a grand total, omitting cents, of \$3,468,209, as follows: For 1901, \$202,926; 1902, \$1,889,202; 1903, \$308,780; 1904, \$1,067,300. For the relief of the anthracite-mine workers on strike from May to October, 1902, the union received a total of \$2,645,325. Of this amount, \$2,225,370 was contributed by its own members—\$258,344 being voluntary donations from the different district, sub-district, and local unions, and \$1,967,026 from the special assess-

ment levied upon the members of the organization continuing in employment—and \$419,954 in contributions from the public and other trade unions. Despite the severe drain upon its financial resources by the anthracite-mine-workers' strike and that of the mine employees in the two Virginias and elsewhere in 1902 there was in the national treasury of the organization alone, not counting the comparatively large savings in the different branches of the union, over \$1,027,120 on January 1, 1903. A total of 184,000 mine workers were on strike in this country for two months and 160,000 for five months during 1902. Such a situation could not be possible without a strong labor organization not only to direct these wage-earners but to support them in their struggle.

But the United Mine Workers of America has not always been so strong or in a position to apply so effectively as it has the past eight years such sinews of industrial warfare as herein described. This organization was born under the stress of disadvantageous circumstances and had a rough and up-hill road to

travel before reaching its present eminence of being "the largest and strongest single Trade Union in the world." These earlier struggles of the United Mine Workers of America are of sufficient importance to review in some detail, as is done in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

GROWTH OF THE MINE WORKERS' UNION.

THE first attempt to organize the bituminous-coal-mine workers of the United States into a national union was made in 1861. It had its origin among a small group of miners who had emigrated from Great Britain to the Belleville district of Illinois, prominent among whom were Thomas Lloyd and Daniel Weaver, both Englishmen, who had been schooled in English labor unions and who had brought with them the ideas inculcated by that training. The object of the organization, as explained in an address to the miners of the United States issued by Weaver, was for "mutual protection, and improvement, and education."

In response to this appeal, representatives of coal miners in Missouri and Illinois met in St. Louis in January, 1861, and organized the American Miners' Association, with Lloyd as

president and Weaver as secretary. One of the principal objects of this association was to secure better mining laws in the different coal-producing States. The accomplishment of this object was materially aided by the "Avondale horror," which occurred in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania in September of that year. The shocking death of 109 mine employees aroused wide-spread public sympathy with the miners' movement, of which the leaders in the organization took advantage. They succeeded in securing from the constitutional convention of Illinois, then in session, the insertion in the new constitution of a provision requiring the legislature to enact general mining laws for the safety of all persons working in the coal mines of the State. Such laws were later enacted by the legislature. The association also conducted a successful contest for mine inspection in Ohio. These successes brought to the organization a rapid growth in membership, and it spread within a short time over all the more important coal-producing States, becoming strongest in Missouri, Illinois, Ohio, and Maryland. It

included among its members only bituminous-coal-mine workers. The total annual output of soft coal in 1861 was estimated at 6,500,000 tons, and the total number of coal-mine workers in the entire country did not much exceed 30,000.

It was natural for the movement to lapse during the Civil War, when much more momentous events demanded attention, and not unnatural that it should be affected by the disintegrating forces then at work upon all the broad social organizations throughout the country. Strikes in nearly all the coal fields accompanied the general fall in prices following that great struggle, and these added to the already growing hostility of the public against labor associations of all kinds. The open-air meetings of the striking miners, which were not always peaceable and orderly, were denounced as lawless mobs, and the leaders were bitterly persecuted. Coupled with this popular indignation, which was easily aroused at this time, were internal dissensions among the miners themselves. These conditions operated to sweep the association out

of existence, and to all outward appearances the American Miners' Association now became a thing of the past.

The movement, however, simply assumed another form in the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association, which by 1870 had become conspicuous in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. This association had spread from the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, where it was at first known as the Workingmen's Benevolent Association. Under the leadership of John Siney, the anthracite-mine workers had been led successfully through several strikes and had succeeded in building up a strong union. It had maintained wages during falling markets, even against the organized opposition of the operators, and had established cooperative stores; its members owned and managed several influential newspapers, and exerted a strong influence in politics, having been so successful as to secure from the Pennsylvania legislature the first mine-inspection law passed in this country. This, however, did not apply to the bituminous-coal fields of that

State. Such success for the hard-coal miner, while the soft-coal-mine employee was in a most unenviable condition, naturally drew attention to its cause, and in consequence the name and work of John Siney became of national importance, as it was mainly through his leadership that the anthracite-mine worker enjoyed his high estate.

The extension of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association into the soft-coal-producing States at first took the form of independent organizations among the men who had been identified with the American Miners' Association. In 1873 John Siney was led to attempt the union of all these branches under a national organization, and in response to his call, issued to the mine workers of the United States, a meeting was held at Youngstown, Ohio, in October of that year. Representatives were present from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, West Virginia, and one or two other States. In his call Siney stated three objects of the meeting as being: (1) A consolidation of the entire body of miners of the United States for the purpose of self-protection;

(2) to afford pecuniary and moral support to such districts as may be forced to the alternative of a strike; and (3) for a thorough discussion of grievances and the passage of such laws in the several States as the safety and welfare of the mine workers demand.

The Youngstown meeting gave birth to the Miners' National Association, composed of soft-coal miners, with John Siney as its president, he having resigned his leadership of the anthracite-mine workers to undertake the greater task. The constitution of the new organization provided for arbitration, conciliation, and cooperation, and for independent action in district affairs. No strike was to be begun until every other possible means of settlement had been exhausted, and before a strike should be entered upon a complete statement of the issues involved was to be made to the president of the organization and his consent to the proposed action secured. Provision was also made for an executive board, composed of one member from each State represented in the organization, to advise and assist the national officers. Head-

quarters of the association were established at Cleveland, Ohio.

Within two years the association had spread over all the central coal-producing States, and had an estimated membership of nearly 35,000. There is no question but that it was powerful and influential. It contemplated, among other things, the undertaking of cooperative coal mining on an extensive scale, and for this purpose a large tract of coal land was purchased in Tennessee. Even while at the height of its power the causes that led to its downfall are easily discernible. The panic of 1873 had been followed by a period of industrial depression which became most acute in its effect upon the coal trade in 1875. Glutted coal markets forced many of the mines to work on half time. Prices were falling. With less work to do and less pay for that which they did, the miners engaged in strike after strike to prevent reductions in wages. Now came the first fair test of the arbitration principle enunciated by the organization. It proved a dismal failure. This was at the close of 1874. It followed a notification from

the operators in the Tuscarawas Valley (Ohio) of a reduction in the price of mining from 90 to 70 cents a ton and corresponding reductions in wages for other mine labor. An arbitration board was organized, according to the provision in the constitution of the Miners' National Association, with three miners and three operators as members, one of the operators being the late United States Senator Marcus A. Hanna. Judge Andrews, of Cleveland, was umpire. The decision was against the miners, the price of mining being fixed at 71 cents a ton. At first the employees continued at work, but soon petitioned their executive board to be released from the award, which was granted. They then made a demand for an advance of 9 cents a ton in the mining rate. This was acceded to by the operators after a short suspension. To add to the deplorable situation, the miners lacked confidence in their leaders at a time when confidence was most needed. In consequence the experience of the American Miners' Association under somewhat similar circumstances was repeated—the Miners' National Association declined,

internal dissensions weakened it, and, finally, at the close of 1875, it, too, was lost sight of.

In the meantime there had come into existence an association which was destined to preserve the germ of organization among the coal miners until they were again ready and able to undertake the task of uniting in one national body. This was the Knights of Labor, which Uriah S. Stephens had launched in 1870. Christopher Evans, now statistician for the United Mine Workers of America, is given credit for being the first to introduce this organization among the coal miners, having organized the first miners' assembly at New Straitsville, Ohio. At the beginning the growth of the Knights of Labor among the coal-mine workers was slow, but following 1879, when the force of the 1873 panic had about spent itself, it was much more rapid. The miners' branch was known as Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and had a district master workman at its head. Soon the assemblies were in a prosperous condition, due to the improved industrial situation, not a few of them owning the halls in which their meet-

ings were held. Many of these halls contained small libraries, and the meetings gave opportunities for debates and general discussions of labor problems. As such, they proved valuable training schools from which have come a number of our present-day labor leaders.

This period of prosperity found the Ohio miners under a strong State organization, with John McBride at their head. The miners of the Pittsburg district of Pennsylvania were also well organized, under the leadership of David R. Jones, a graduate of Mount Union College (Ohio), who had left the mines when eighteen years of age to take up the study of law. He was in absolute control, there being no other officers. His salary was made up of monthly dues of five cents from each member. The efforts of these leaders at this time were directed towards securing higher wages for the mine workers to accompany rising prices, the strikes of this period nearly all being for increased wages. But there were other troublesome questions which the mine employees of the several States desired settled. Finally an interstate convention was held at

Pittsburg in March, 1880, and the mine employees demanded of the operators payment by weight for all merchantable coal, an eight-hour work-day, and the abolishment of the "pluck-me" store system. If these concessions were not granted by August of that year there was to be a general strike of soft-coal miners. In the meantime the mine employees of the Tuscarawas Valley in Ohio, who had gone out on strike against the continuance of the screen system of payment for coal mined, offered resistance to the importation of negro laborers to take their places, which resulted in the State militia being called into the field under arms and finally in the decision of the mine employees to return to work under old conditions. This prevented the general strike as planned by the Pittsburg convention.

The decade which followed was one of rapid railway development throughout the coal-producing States. The result was the breaking down of the local or sectional markets for the commodity as a greater coal area became accessible and the establishing of what was

practically a national market for the product of all the widely separated coal fields. It was still true that certain districts supplied certain markets. The eastern West Virginia and the Maryland fields, the central Pennsylvania field, and the anthracite region sent their product largely to the markets in the northern tier of seaboard States, principally to Portland, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois coal went to the Lake and Northwestern States. The coal-producing area accessible to the Monongahela, Kanawha, and Ohio rivers—western Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio, and West Virginia—still found its market in the South at Cincinnati, Louisville, Mobile, New Orleans, and lower Mississippi River points, to which coal was also sent not only from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, but also from States west of the Mississippi River. That these different markets drew their coal supply from these particular fields rather than from any of the others was due to the natural conditions of river outlets and mountain barriers. This

explains briefly how it was that coal fields, lying next to each other, separated perhaps by only a mountain ridge, had their markets thousands of miles apart, and also why coal fields widely separated sent their product to a common market.

With the rapid railway development particular coal fields were now no longer dependent entirely upon certain markets, and particular markets could be made independent, if necessary, of certain coal fields. From West Virginia and Pennsylvania, principally along the Youghiogheny River, between the fields supplying the eastern seaboard and those sending their product to the Lakes and Northwest, coal could be sent either to the seaboard or to the lake markets. Into the eastern seaboard market coal could be brought from the Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama fields to compete with the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia product. Again, the coal from these widely separated fields met in competition in the southern Ohio and Mississippi River markets, into which coal also came from States beyond the Mississippi. Coal produced

in the Pittsburg district of Pennsylvania, if the demand warranted it, could be taken on board cars at Cincinnati, to which point it was brought in barges by river, and shipped into the Western and Northwestern markets to sell alongside coal from Iowa; or southern Illinois could send its coal to St. Louis or Chicago or even to the far Northwest.

Thus the hitherto widely separated coal markets were being bound so closely together that the least rise or fall in the price of the commodity in any of the sectional markets had its effect, directly and indirectly, upon the price of coal in all the others. If this price for any cause rose much higher in one market than in the others the supply at once called forth would sooner or later reduce the price nearly to a level with that in the other markets. A recognition of this interdependence of the coal-producing States was forced upon those engaged in the industry by the sudden increase in coal production following the opening of so many new fields. A period of business depression set in, overproduction of coal resulted in falling prices, and this was

followed by reductions in wages and poor returns for the greater part of capital invested in the industry. Strike after strike in the coal fields indicated a deplorable state for both operators and miners.

"For the purpose of adjusting market and mining prices in such a way as to avoid strikes and lockouts, and give each party an increased profit from the sale of coal," a movement was inaugurated in September, 1885, at Indianapolis, by the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers. This organization had come into existence in that year mainly through the efforts of leaders among the mine workers who were opposed to the secret methods of the Knights of Labor. Christopher Evans, of Ohio, was at its head. The movement contemplated a joint convention of operators and miners to provide a remedy for the wretched conditions. The credit for this idea is given to Daniel McLaughlin, of Illinois. In October, 1885, the first joint meeting was held in Chicago and was attended by operators and mine workers from Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. With the hope of securing

representation from a larger number of States and Territories a committee of three operators and three miners was appointed to issue a public address, which should set forth the object and purpose of the movement, and another meeting was called for December in Pittsburg. This latter meeting, although more largely attended than the one held previously, adjourned, without definite action on the questions involved, to meet again in February.

On February 23, 1886, at Columbus, Ohio, the first joint national convention of coal operators and mine workers was organized with Christopher Evans, of Ohio, as chairman, and E. T. Bent, of Illinois, an operator, as secretary. Representatives of operators were present from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, and of mine workers from these States and Maryland. The representation was fixed at 8 votes—4 to be cast by the mine workers and 4 by the operators—for each of the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. A scale of prices to be paid for mining in specified districts in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois,

Iowa, Ohio, and West Virginia, ranging from 56½ cents a ton in the Staunton and Mount Olive districts to as high as 95 cents a ton in the Wilmington (Illinois) district, which had previously been prepared at the Pittsburg meeting, was adopted. The prices were to prevail from May, 1886, to May, 1887. A board of arbitration and conciliation, consisting of five mine workers and five operators at large and one mine worker and one operator from each of the States represented in the scale, to which all questions of an interstate or national character were to be submitted for adjustment, was elected. Oscar Townsend, of Ohio, was its president, and Christopher Evans, of the same State, secretary. This was probably the first movement of a national character in this country having for its object the establishing of methods of conciliation between capital and labor.

It was recognized at the very beginning that the problem before both operators and mine workers was a control of the competitive districts in those States having a common market. Such control, to be effective, meant

that the operators and mine workers in one district should not have any advantage over the operators and mine workers in another district. If by any chance the coal of one district came to market bearing a lower price than the product of the other districts, the cheaper commodity, other things being equal, would necessarily undersell that bearing a higher price. The tendency under such conditions would be for the price of all the coal, from whatever district, to reach the level of the cheapest. Thus there could be no favored district, but all the factors entering into the price of coal—natural advantages, nearness to market, cost of transportation, the quality of the coal, the price of mine labor, and the numerous other elements entering into the cost of producing coal—must be so regulated that the product from all the districts should bear very nearly the same price when it reached a common market. Moreover, the task undertaken, to be successful, meant a control not only over the competitive districts having a common market, but also over all the competitive fields having

different markets. In brief, it was a problem of the national control of the Law of Competition as it operated in all the fields and markets where coal was produced and sold.

With a clear conception of the intention of the movement, it is not surprising that it did not succeed. In the first place, only in the central competitive territory—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and parts of West Virginia and Pennsylvania—which had a common market on the Lakes and in the Northwest, could the operators and mine workers be induced to take part in the movement. The other fields were practically left unorganized. Even within this section it was not possible for all parties interested to agree at once upon any particular method of adjusting the widely varying conditions. Soon the operators of one district complained that the operators of another district possessed advantages which enabled them to put their coal on the market at a lower price and thus to undersell the former. Counter charges followed, and attempts were made by those believing themselves to be at a disadvantage to remedy the particular

conditions of which they complained. Much friction was the result, and failure after failure to keep the basis agreed upon was reported from the different districts. So many unforeseen factors continually entered in to disturb temporary adjustments that the agreement could not keep the competitive districts together. The Illinois operators were the first to withdraw; the Indiana operators followed in 1888.

The success of the Federation itself was spasmodic, there being much internal dissension as well as strong opposition to the exercise of its power. This made itself openly evident in 1889 by the organization of the National Progressive Union, with John McBride, of Ohio, as president. Like the Knights of Labor branch of mine workers, it was a secret organization. The period that followed is conspicuous for the internal strife which broke out among the different organizations claiming jurisdiction over the coal-mine employees. The energies of their officers were now spent in fruitless warfare against one another, the conflict at times growing

intensely bitter. Strikes begun by one or the other organization were lost through the antagonism and even the open hostility of the others, and by the close of the decade the coal miners' organizations were in a state very near exhaustion. Of the 318,000 mine workers in the country in 1890, not more than 45,000 were enrolled in the different organizations.

Seeing nothing but defeat to all the unions if such a course was continued, John Rea, president of the National Progressive Union; W. T. Lewis, master workman of the National Trades Assembly, No. 135; John McBride, and other leaders in these two factions started a movement for a consolidation. At separate conventions held at Columbus, Ohio, in January, 1890, the two organizations decided to affiliate, and in a joint convention they formed the United Mine Workers of America. John Rea, president of the Progressive Union, the stronger of the two affiliating organizations, was made the first president of the new organization. The Trades Assembly retained its secret methods and to some extent its individuality, in that the president of the United

Mine Workers was also elected master workman of the Assembly. The combined membership was about 20,000, being strongest in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The total number of bituminous-mine workers at this time was 192,000, and the total annual production of soft coal 111,302,000 short tons.

The objects of the United Mine Workers of America, as stated in the preamble to its constitution, were to increase wages; to secure payment in lawful money; to establish weekly pay-days and the right of the mine workers to spend their earnings wherever they choose; to protect the lives of mine employees through the introduction of safety appliances and through securing legislation towards the same ends; to establish an eight-hour work-day; to prohibit the employment of children under fourteen years of age; to have laws enacted for weighing or measuring the coal they mined; to prevent the coal companies employing detectives or guards in times of strikes or lockouts, and to establish arbitration and conciliation for the settlement of disputes between the mine workers and their employers.

The early history of the United Mine Workers is that of an organization passing through an existence so precarious as to cause the reviewer of the present day to wonder that it ever succeeded in living; that it should have attained to its present size and strength is indeed even more remarkable. It came into being at a time when the effect of the change in the character of immigrants to the United States—from Irish, German, English, and Welsh, to Polish, Russian, Hungarian, Austrian, and Italian—was felt most injuriously by labor employed in the coal-mining industry. This cheaper Slav and Italian labor poured into the mining States and put into operation among the mine laborers as never before the great Law of Competition, the result being demoralization of the standards of living that had prevailed among older nationalities engaged in coal mining. To unite all these antagonistic elements in harmonious action for the common good of all mine workers was a task requiring the strength of a giant organization. The attempt of the new union to undertake it is curiously illustrated by the *Journal* and consti-

tution of the organization being printed in English and Slavonian, and its manuals in English, Lettish, Italian, Polish, and Slavonian.

Not only had the coal-mining industry been filled up with these different types of laborers during the period preceding 1890, but there had been a rapid extension of old along with the construction of new railway lines, the result being to extend greatly the coal-producing area. It is estimated that enough mines were opened in 1890 to have produced 40,000,000 tons more of bituminous coal than were mined in that year if the 192,000 mine employees had been given regular employment; or, in other words, the total of 111,302,000 short tons produced that year could have been mined with 73,000 fewer mine workers than were then engaged in the soft-coal industry. Despite this condition the coal area continued to be extended in 1891, 1892, and 1893, and the number of bituminous mine employees continued to increase, there being 52,000 more in 1894 than in 1890.

When it is remembered that the market price of coal is determined, to a large extent,

by the price of mine labor—by the wages of the mine workers—it is not difficult to conceive the damaging effect such a condition of over-supply of labor had upon the joint-conference movement. In fact, this condition of the mine-labor market was one of the causes contributing to the failure of that plan. With a glutted labor market—with men bidding against one another for the sale of their labor—the price of mine labor generally tended towards the price set by those groups having the lowest cost of maintaining their labor—the workers with the lowest standard of living—and these were now the cheaper laborers from the central European countries. This low-priced labor poured into the unorganized fields and gave to the operators in these States, now competing in the same markets with those of the organized States, an advantage in the cost of production over the fields where the United Mine Workers was striving to control the evil effects of this immigration.*

* For a detailed account of the industrial effects of immigration upon the English-speaking mine workers the reader is referred to the author's *The Slav Invasion and*

Thus the United Mine Workers, at the very outset, was face to face with conditions which foretold falling prices and reductions in wages, the baneful effects of which were to be felt by the mine employees for many years. With an overproduction of coal and an oversupply of labor when the period of depression set in in 1893, many of the mines had to be closed, and so many thousands of mine workers were thrown out of employment that the governors of some of the States issued public appeals for aid for the unemployed. That the new organization found itself involved in numerous strikes is not surprising. With less than one-sixth of the mine workers of the country organized, it undertook to conduct strikes in Iowa, in the coke fields of Pennsylvania, in the Pittsburg district, and in Indiana. All proved disastrous to the mine workers and to their organization. Not only did it fail to secure its demands, the principal one of which was for an eight-hour work-day, but

The Mine Workers: A Study in Immigration; J. B. Lipincott Company, Phila., Publishers. Price, \$1.12, including postage.

the union had lost several thousand members by the end of the year. The defense fund provided for by the first convention brought in only \$70,000. The only success of the year was the securing of favorable screen legislation in Illinois, Indiana, and West Virginia. By this time only the Pittsburg and Ohio operators and mine workers were in the joint-conference movement, and even these withdrew from the agreement in 1891 through a failure to settle the miners' demand for an eight-hour work-day. The years following proved even more discouraging. The average paid-up membership of the organization was 20,912 in 1890, 17,044 in 1891, 19,376 in 1892, and 14,244 in 1893.

The fifth annual convention of the United Mine Workers at Columbus, in April, 1894, not only looked back upon general failure, as far as definite accomplishment was considered, but the organization now faced prospects that seemed even worse. Not only was the movement for higher wages in the Pittsburg district and in West Virginia a complete failure, but it was followed by a period of reductions in

wages with the beginning of the industrial depression in 1893. At first this had the effect of forcing the mine workers into the union, the estimated membership soon reaching 70,000, with 161 new locals and assemblies in Pennsylvania, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana; but the members were in such financial straits that the organization released them from the payment of dues.

Mining rates had been steadily reduced in the Pittsburg district, wages had decreased in the central Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio fields, and reductions were threatened in the western and southwestern coal-producing States. To prevent this, and in the hope of restoring the scale of prices for mining and the conditions of employment which prevailed at the beginning of May, 1893, the fifth annual convention ordered a suspension of mining operations to take effect April 21, 1894. At this time the organization had only 13,000 paid-up members and barely \$2600 in the treasury. Notwithstanding this, nearly 125,000 mine workers quit work on that day, and

the number was increased to 180,000 at the end of eight weeks. It was not the intention of the leaders to suspend coal mining entirely, but only during every alternate two weeks until the glutted markets were depleted, in the hope that higher prices would bring increased wages. But after the men had come out they refused to go back and the suspension developed into a wide-spread strike, which affected the eight principal soft-coal-producing States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Kansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Its object was defeated by the operators and mine workers of the two Virginias, Maryland, and the anthracite region of Pennsylvania increasing their output and supplying the Lake markets while the strike was on. Work was resumed on June 12 by action of the Cleveland convention of mine workers, which left a settlement to the national executive board and the district presidents. This settlement was at the time regarded as a compromise in that a slight increase in wages was secured for the mine workers in Ohio, Indiana, and western Pennsylvania,

while a reduction in wages was accepted in central Pennsylvania, in Illinois, and in some of the southern States. John McBride, who had been elected president in 1892, was at this time at the head of the organization.

The strike was far from being a success, except perhaps in a negative sense, in that it temporarily checked further reductions in wages. The United Mine Workers was almost destroyed. It emerged from the strike with barely 8000 members, and was too poor to defray the expenses of national executive board meetings, the business having to be carried on by correspondence. Nor was the organization able to meet the expenses of railroad fare for delegates to the seventh annual convention, as provided for in its constitution. The National Trades Assembly, which had at first maintained its independent form and which had later become entirely independent of the Knights of Labor, was now dissolved. A period of low wages, adverse conditions of employment (conditions determined almost wholly by the operators), frequent unsuccessful strikes, comparative idle-

ness during part of the year for many of the mine employees, desertions by the hundreds until over 90 per cent of the coal-mine workers of the country were outside the organization, and a bankrupt treasury, seemed to indicate the early dissolution of the United Mine Workers of America, and the most stout-hearted of the leaders lost hope.

The compromise which brought the strike of 1894 to a close, saw the end, for the time being, of the interstate agreement between the operators and mine workers of the central competitive territory. Repeated attempts had been made in 1892 and 1893 to restore the joint conference in the central competitive districts, but none of them succeeded. In some of the States independent agreements between the operators and mine workers took its place. Through these the mine workers in the different fields were now forced to accept reduction after reduction in wages, as the operators having a greater cost of production were compelled to meet the competition of those having a lower cost of production. The great Law of Competition was absolutely

beyond the control of both operators and mine workers, and demoralization of all interests concerned in the industry followed.

In 1896, however, the industrial situation began to improve. Rising prices, following the partial depletion of the markets and a general increased demand for fuel from the industries, had their effect on the coal industry. M. D. Ratchford, who had been at the head of the Ohio miners, was now president of the United Mine Workers. McBride had resigned in the fall of 1894 to become president of the American Federation of Labor, and was succeeded by Philip Penna, of Indiana, who served until Ratchford's election in 1897. A convention of the organization was held at the beginning of that year, and it resolved upon a demand for a general increase in wages of 15 per cent, leaving to the executive board and the district presidents the question of a strike to enforce the demand. During the period of depression the price for mining had fallen from 60 cents a ton to 54 cents in the Pittsburg district and to an average of 47 cents in other fields. With less than 10,000 members,

of whom 7000 were in Ohio, and despite the fact that there was an empty treasury and that many mine workers were already idle, the officers of the union decided upon a strike, which was ordered for July 4, 1897. The average paid-up membership had continued to decrease, it being 17,628 in 1894, 10,871 in 1895, 9617 in 1896, and 9731 in 1897. Despite this poor showing of the organization its strike order was obeyed by over 100,000 men in eleven States, including a part of the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, and there was a general suspension of operations in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. A compromise was effected at a conference of operators and mine workers at Pittsburg on September 3. There was to be an average advance of about 20 per cent in wages, with the understanding that the operators and mine workers of the central competitive coal fields would meet in Chicago on January 17 "for the purpose of formulating a wage scale and of making an annual contract by mutual joint agreement." In order to give the operators and miners in all the

fields time to settle upon the basis agreed to, there was to be no resumption of mining for ten days, but in this case, as in many previous ones, each district and field seemed to care only for its own particular interests, with the result that the settlement succeeded only in Ohio, western Pennsylvania, Indiana, and a portion of Illinois.

This strike proved to be the most successful movement of its kind ever undertaken in America up to this time. A period of renewed industrial prosperity now set in over the entire country, which marked a turning point in the history of the United Mine Workers. From one of the poorest of labor organizations, within five years it has become one of the strongest trade unions in the world, with a present estimated paid-up membership exceeding 300,000. The reestablishment of the interstate joint convention in the central competitive territory not only brought an advance in the wage rate, the adoption of a uniform screen, and a uniform day-wage scale along with an eight-hour work-day, but it provided machinery for doing away, to a great extent,

with the necessity for strikes in the central coal-producing States. But as the permanency of the joint-conference movement was seen from its very inception, as has been intimated, to be dependent upon the existence of a strong national organization of mine workers with jurisdiction over each and all of the States included in the coal area of the country, and not alone over those within the central competitive territory, the leaders of the mine workers in 1898 began to direct their energies towards accomplishing this end. Under the leadership of John Mitchell, who succeeded to the presidency upon the retirement of Mr. Ratchford to become a member of the Industrial Commission, an era of remarkable growth was entered upon. During 1899, the United Mine Workers was extended into the coal-producing States west of the Mississippi River. Upon the refusal of the operators of that section to meet with the mine workers in a joint conference to regulate wages and conditions of employment, the union inaugurated a strike in Kansas, Arkansas, Indian Territory, and Missouri, which began on March 1, 1899,

and continued for nearly a year in some districts in Arkansas and Indian Territory. In Kansas and Missouri the mining rate was advanced, hours of labor reduced, and the check-weighman system established. In the same year the union was extended into the southern coal fields of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, after strikes in those States. Such was the phenomenal growth of the organization that more than 475 new locals were established in 1899 and 608 in 1900, increasing the total enrollment in the latter year to 115,521 as compared with 32,902 in 1898. Instead of only five States being represented in the annual meetings of the United Mine Workers there were present at the tenth convention in Pittsburg, January, 1899, representatives from thirteen of the coal-producing States and Territories. Separate agreements between operators and members of the United Mine Workers were now established in parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, central Pennsylvania, Michigan, and West Virginia.

For the first time in the history of the

trade-union movement among the coal-mine employees of the United States, the United Mine Workers, after the strike of 1897, made a serious attempt to include the anthracite employees in its membership. While this organization had established a few locals in the hard-coal region as early as 1894, it was not until 1898 that national organizers were sent into the three fields in large numbers to organize thoroughly that territory. They went among men not wholly unfamiliar with labor organizations, for the anthracite-mine workers had an experience along this line which extended as far back as 1849. A general summary of this history is presented in the author's "The Slav Invasion and the Mine Workers." It is only necessary to state here that by 1900 we find the United Mine Workers with about 8000 members in the three anthracite districts, being strongest in the Wyoming field. It began a six weeks' strike among the hard-coal-mine workers on September 17, of that year, which before its close involved 130,000 of the 140,500 men and boys then employed in the industry. A 10 per cent increase in

wages, including in the Wyoming and Lehigh fields a reduction in the price of powder from \$2.75 to \$1.50 a keg, and the abolishment of the sliding scale in the Lehigh and Schuylkill fields, were secured along with other improved conditions of employment. In the eighteen months that followed, the officers of the United Mine Workers made numerous and repeated attempts to secure the adoption, by the railroad mining companies, of the joint-conference plan for deciding upon wages and general conditions of employment, but all of them met with failure, the presidents of the mining companies refusing to enter into such an arrangement. Finally, on May 12, 1902, another strike laid the entire anthracite region idle for more than five months. The formal demands of the mine workers were for a 20 per cent increase in wages for contract miners, a reduction of 20 per cent in the hours of labor of per diem employees, the establishing of 2240 pounds as a mining ton, recognition of the union, and the submission of all questions at issue to disinterested parties for arbitration. Through the mediation of

President Roosevelt the mine workers resumed their employment on October 23, with the understanding that the questions in dispute would be submitted to a commission appointed by the President. After a five months' investigation of the conditions, this commission reported on March 18, 1903, making awards already referred to.

Thus has been indicated briefly and in general outline the progress of the trade-union movement among the coal-mine workers of the United States. We find the organization firmly established upon a foundation of trials and tribulations extending over a period of nearly half a century, and which have, no doubt, given to it much of its present-day virility. Through struggles not uncommon to new institutions it has made for itself a place among the great forces at work in the United States for the advancement of American civilization. What is meant by this we shall attempt to indicate in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TRADE UNION AS AN INSTITUTION.

AMID the many confusing and bewildering manifestations of our national life to-day, discerning eyes see one clearly marked current mid-channel of the stream. Here it moves in volume, with no surface indication of its progress, like the slow, steady march of the avalanche; there it beats in mad frenzy against a barrier, as its course in this or that direction is checked, or it rushes in fury over the precipice, only to resume its onward course below, to what haven who can foretell? This clearly marked current in the broad social activities of the American people has been termed the labor movement.

There is not a single manifestation of our common national life that this movement does not affect directly or indirectly. It pervades the Home in the questions of wages,

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of apprentices, of the employment of women; in its child-labor aspect it affects the School-house and Citizenship; frequently it makes its appearance in our Courts of Justice. There is not a charity organization that does not confront daily this all-pervading question in its fight with Poverty. Its presence is conspicuous in every Legislature, state and national, and it is more and more coming to make its influence felt with our Political Parties in their state and national conventions. Through strikes and lockouts it has come in conflict with the police and military powers of the State and Federal Governments, and in its contact with the injunction, vital principles of Government itself are brought in question. Through the factory system principles of industrial organization, it vitally concerns the production, exchange, and consumption of goods, affecting all the manifold phases of national activity which are related, directly and indirectly, to the conduct of our great industries.

This labor movement is drawing new and distinct lines of demarcation through our

social structure. Within organized society it is creating an industrial organization of the people, in contrast with their religious, or political groupings, etc., and in consequence is raising questions as to its relation and that of its members to the Church, to the Law, and to the State. More important even than this, the labor movement is calling into existence trade unions, associations of employers, joint conferences between representatives of employers and employees, state boards of conciliation and arbitration, the National Civic Federation, the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, the Anthracite Board of Conciliation, and the like, for the operation of which a place must be and is being prepared in the broad social state.

These and other tendencies just as clearly marked, are easily discernible facts. We can no longer dismiss them with the reply that all this is the work of the demagogue, of the labor "agitator" or "walking-delegate," but we must question fundamentally their real significance. There is something of vital importance to the welfare of humanity not

reached by the above superficial explanation in the fact that a single labor organization—the United Mine Workers of America—has grown in numbers from less than 10,000 in 1897 to over 250,000 in 1904. It is but one indication that the labor movement has progressed far enough in the United States for intelligent citizens to inquire dispassionately as to its real meaning, rather than irrationally and through class prejudice or self-interest to prejudge its principles and its tendencies. By this we do not mean that all criticism and opposition should be withdrawn, but that this opposition, strengthened by a clear conception of the evils and a rational recognition of the good, should be made all the more effective at those points where the labor movement threatens injury to organized society and its established institutions.

First and above all the labor movement is giving to society new institutions, conspicuous among which is the Trade Union. That which it aims to accomplish is the performance of services not now adequately performed by any other social agency. It is removing from

the realm of idle promises and mere platitudes the constitutional guarantee to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and is aiming to make these a reality to mankind. It is reaching down and taking hold of the one sole possession of the great body of men—their labor—and is using its growing power to guard and protect that labor and its possessor so that its return will not only cover the workingman's cost of producing his labor, but will bring to him a larger share of the wealth which he assists in producing. The Trade Union recognizes first of all that labor has a Cost of Production just as certain as coal, or shoes, or any other material commodity. This cost may not be and is not represented in royalties, interest, wages, freight rates, etc., as is the case with the cost of producing coal, but it is made up of items which are just as much subject to definite analysis—of food, clothing, and shelter. To meet this cost of producing labor, the only thing the workingman can do is to sell his commodity—his labor—that is he must apply his physical energy to the transformation of

material goods in return for money wages by means of which he secures food, clothing, and shelter.

But by virtue of the fact that the possessor of labor is also a man with duties and obligations and rights as a citizen, as a father and a husband, a member of a church, etc., the exercise of which privileges is a money cost to him and which he can only meet through his wages, the Trade Union aims to set a higher standard for the price of labor than its mere Cost of Production. This higher measurement is the Standard of Living. Its support and maintenance on a higher plane than that of the working classes of any other civilized country is more necessary in these United States because upon them rests those institutions which to-day make our nation a pride and a boast. Thus the Trade Union not only emphasizes higher money wages for the working classes, but it seeks to secure for them better homes (not merely better houses), lower prices for the commodities they consume (as through cooperative establishments and by opposition to "company" stores),

more opportunities for their children in the School-house, better clothes and food for their wives and children, greater safeguards against injury and death in hazardous employments, insurance and relief benefits, less hours of work, and innumerable other "rights" which they do not now enjoy, and which will ever be denied to them if they themselves do not control, through the Trade Union, the forces which are ever at work to bring about low wages and adverse conditions of employment. All these and other objects of the Trade Union have to do with the workingman more as a man than as a producer of labor—as a social animal rather than a labor-producing machine.

To secure these and like "rights" to the workingman the Trade Union must direct its efforts and strength against all those industrial and social forces which prevent and oppose their acquisition and retention. It must antagonize the cupidity and self-interest of particular employers; it must break down without pity and without mercy to individuals those barriers of class prejudice and distinction

which would reserve the pursuit of happiness to a small number; it must effectively control immigration as it enters our great industries because of its tendency to lower the Standard of Living of American workingmen; it must oppose the too rapid introduction of machinery, which temporarily and in particular occupations tends to reduce wages; it must crush out child labor for all time, and guard carefully the employment of women; it must regulate apprenticeship, and through innumerable other channels the Trade Union must control and direct great economic and social forces if it is to save its members from industrial servitude second only in degradation to actual slavery. One illustration in detail from actual experience will indicate the social significance of the service of the Trade Union.

Prior to the inauguration of the strike of the anthracite-mine workers in 1902, the writer was a witness to an eviction scene in one of the mining "patches" of the hard-coal region of Pennsylvania. A "patch" is a small group

of houses situated near a colliery, and used as residences by the mine employees. The houses in this instance had been occupied up to the time of the eviction by members of English-speaking races engaged in the mining of coal. Through the harsh operation of industrial forces they were in arrears for rent to the mining company, which owned the houses, and their belongings were being put out upon the public highway by the constable and his deputies.

One particular house had been the home of the families of a Scotchman and his son. These two men, with their wives and the three small children of the younger of the men, occupied the four rooms—two on the first floor and two on the second. Of the seven members of the household the two men were the only wage-earners. All their household effects on this eviction day were piled along the highway—a bureau, a stove, “straw ticks,” several chairs, a rag carpet or two, with here and there a cheap painting or lithograph scattered conspicuously among boxes, kitchen utensils, separated parts of

beds, etc. These and other belongings were such in quantity and cumbersomeness as to make necessary the employment, through the assistance of friends, of a wagon, with horse and driver, to remove them from the roadway. This description would apply as well to the scenes presented at the other miners' houses in this particular "patch" on this eviction day.

The houses unwillingly vacated by the English-speaking mine workers later became the abode of representatives of the Slav races, which nationalities have been pouring into the anthracite-producing counties in large numbers the past twenty-five years and more. They came not along the highway with their household effects in wagons, but by trail across the mountain from the railway station at Hazleton, with their belongings, few in number, in blanketed bundles and trunk-like boxes slung across their backs. The women, of whom there were but few, carried with seeming ease hugh bundles, one on top of the head and one under each arm, and like the men represented a beast-of-burden adapta-

bility to the most exacting physical labor under pressure from hard circumstances. Eight men and one woman took up their quarters in the house in which the families of the Scotchman and his son had resided. The cooking utensils of the newcomers were indicative of their hard necessities, being meagre in quantity and of the poorest quality, and evidently collected from divers sources where they had already performed the real service for which each was intended. Chairs and bureaus were conspicuous by their absence; nor were "straw ticks," beds, and carpets among their household effects, the new occupants being content with rolling themselves in resemblances of blankets and sleeping upon the uncarpeted floor. Their supply of clothing was limited to the garments they wore.

Thus is indicated some of the marked differences in the standards of living of the newly arrived immigrant and the mine worker whom the immigrant sooner or later supplants. These differences are very clear to those who have observed closely at first hand this industrial phenomenon, and they carry in their

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train influences of the utmost national importance, for this problem of the immigrant is not confined alone to the anthracite-coal industry. Specific illustrations on record in nearly every store in the anthracite region where the more pressing wants of the mine employees are supplied emphasize these differences, which are made all the more glaring by comparisons of the family grocery bills of the immigrants with those of the English-speaking mine employees. These standards of living also differ because the English-speaking mine worker is usually married and has children to support; the incoming immigrant, generally speaking, has neither wife nor children. He is thus free from the family outlay and from the necessity of having a wage income sufficient to meet the expense these goodly possessions entail. Unlike the English-speaking mine worker, the Slav has not the parents' cost of sending children to the public school; he has not the property owners' tax contribution to meet; he has not the male citizens' expense of voting, for the cost of these political privileges, such as the

poll tax, where they have been exercised by the Slav in the anthracite-producing counties, is usually met by the political faction of both the Republican and Democratic parties which expects to profit in a particular election by the Slav's use of the ballot. In church contributions, in insurance against injuries and death while at work in the mines, in the dues of beneficial societies, and in the cost of like social and industrial activities, the immigrant has not as great an expense as the American workingman with whom he comes in competition in the sale of his labor.

All these represent the money cost to the individual of the exercise of civic and social responsibilities, the proper use of which is of incalculable benefit to a community. They also indicate some of the sources of the money cost to the American workingman which enter into determining his Standard of Living and which he can meet only by the sale of his labor. The newly arriving immigrant is practically free from the necessity of meeting these and other expenses distinct from the cost of producing labor and yet inseparable

from it; his Standard of Living is much lower than that which the American workingman has become accustomed to and is compelled to meet. In consequence the immigrant is able to go to the labor market in any particular industry (usually at first the unskilled occupations) and to underbid the price the American workingman must ask for his labor, that is, the immigrant is able to and does work for less wages.

There is nothing more commonplace in all the teaching of economics than that where two commodities are offered for sale in the same market at different prices, other things being equal, the consumer chooses the one bearing the lower price. In the anthracite-coal industry the consumers of mine labor are largely the railroad mining companies. With an oversupply of labor constantly offered for sale to them the past quarter of a century down to 1900, they purchased that bearing the lower price, and this was the labor of the Slav and Italian immigrant. The English-speaking mine workers being compelled by their higher Standard of Living to set a higher price upon

their labor were in consequence slowly but surely forced out of the markets in that industry where heretofore they had received wages for their work.

Previous to the coming into the anthracite-coal fields of the Slav and Italian immigrant, the English, Welsh, Irish, Scotch, Germans, Canadians, with the native Americans, formed the mining population of the hard-coal region and dominated the labor supply of the mining industry. Beginning about 1875, the Slav and Italian Invasion swept into these coal fields, bringing with it a group of races wholly foreign to those already dominant there, not only ethnically but in habits and customs and language and institutions. The Pole, the Slovak, the Ruthenian, the Bohemian, the Magyar, the Lithuanian, the Italian, and like nationalities crowded into the mining settlements, putting into operation among the mine workers the great Law of Competition, the most striking and natural result of which was the migration in large numbers of members of the English-speaking nationalities, not only from the anthracite labor markets them-

selves but from that section of Pennsylvania.

This is indicated in the census reports of the United States Government which show that in the eight hard-coal-producing counties immigrants from Poland, Austria, Russia, Hungary, and Italy increased from 1925 in 1880 to 43,007 in 1890 and to 89,328 in 1900. At the present time the total number of these nationalities in the anthracite region is not less than 110,000. While this movement was going on among the Slav and Italian races, the English-speaking foreign born—those from England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany—increased in the anthracite region from 102,421 in 1880 to 123,636 in 1890, but by 1900 they had decreased to 100,269. At the same time the total foreign born increased from 108,828 in 1880 to 170,582 in 1890 and to 193,692 in 1900. In brief, the English-speaking races who composed nearly 94 per cent of the total foreign born in the eight hard-coal-producing counties in 1880, formed less than 73 per cent in 1890 and no more than 52 per cent in 1900. From less than 2 per

cent of the total foreign born in 1880 the central European races in the anthracite region increased to over 25 per cent in 1890 and to over 46 per cent in 1900.

This tendency of the Slav and Italian races to increase and of the English-speaking nationalities to decrease is even more clearly shown for the anthracite-coal industry by statistics of the coal-mining companies giving the nationalities of their employees. For the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, for example, which is the largest single employer of mine labor in the lower or Schuylkill field, the foreign-born Slav and Italian workers in and about its mines increased from 5839 in 1890 to 9521 in 1901: For the same period the number of foreign-born English-speaking employees decreased from 14,176 to 1152. The employees grouped as "born in America" increased during the eleven years from 4719 to 15,627. This movement of the newly arriving immigrants into and of the English-speaking races out of the hard-coal industry is distinctly traceable according to the coal fields, being first marked

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in the Schuylkill, then in the Lehigh, and lastly, and more conspicuously at the present time, in the northern or Wyoming field.

It was inevitable under the conditions described that the English-speaking mine worker who desired to remain in the anthracite industry with his labor should be compelled to do one of two things: Either sell his labor for the price set by the competition of the Slav and Italian immigrant, or compel these immigrants to work for a wage—to sell their labor for a price—sufficient to support the higher Standard of Living of the older group. The former was the tendency very largely down to 1900. But by the strike of that year, and much more so by that of 1902, this competition of the immigrant has been brought under the control, to a very large degree, of the English-speaking group through the operation of a Trade Union—the United Mine Workers of America. And this has been done, too, it should not be forgotten, to the advantage of all mine labor in the hard-coal fields—to that of the immigrant as well as to the English-speaking group of mine employees.

In the struggle of 1900 the United Mine Workers had the greatest difficulty in prevailing upon the Slav and Italian races to "join the union." This was due largely to the fact that up to the time when the Trade Union first began to operate among these mine employees, racial antipathies, social distinctions drawn by the varying degrees of economic necessity, by differences in language, customs, etc., acted as strong barriers between the English-speaking and non-English-speaking groups to prevent unity of action. But on the broad ground of industrial self-interest, whose foundation has been laid by the United Mine Workers, racial ties are being broken down and the heterogeneous mass is being disciplined into some semblance of an industrial army moving for better conditions of employment. Through the Trade Union the English-speaking races have established what is practically a minimum wage in most of the occupations about the collieries, and by so doing are the sooner bringing the immigrant up to a higher Standard of Living, and one more in conformity with American conditions. In consequence, assim-

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lation of the Slav and Italian races will not be such a remote possibility as formerly, for with higher wages and improved conditions of employment there are already indications that these nationalities and their descendents are responding with alacrity to the influences tending towards greater conformity to American social and institutional life.

These races, in general, are frugal, industrious, peaceable, and for the most part in possession of characteristics which will in time and under proper conditions make them valuable additions to American citizenship. The present problem in the coal fields is to bring favorable influences to bear upon them. This is a social service of the first importance, and the institution best able to perform it is the Trade Union. It is through the operation of the Trade Union, more so than through any other social agency, that the immigrants from many climes and of divers races are sooner brought into close touch with and made to conform to American standards and customs and institutions. As for the native workingman, the service to him of the Trade

Union is to control the competition of the immigrant which so vitally affects the earnings and the Standard of Living of the American producer of labor. The effect the operation of the Trade Union has upon the wages of the American workingman—upon the price of his labor—is somewhat similar to that which the policy of Protection to American industries has upon the price of the commodities which those industries produce: Each raises the price of its commodity, labor in the one case and steel, for example, in the other, above that point which unrestricted competition of foreign producers having a lower Cost of Production would otherwise set.

Not only, as has been shown, is one of the principal operating causes of the great industrial disturbances in the anthracite region in 1900 and 1902 traceable directly to the immigration of cheaper labor from European countries, but this competition of foreign-made labor with the higher-priced domestic product had much to do in bringing about the strike of the steel workers in 1901, that of the textile workers in 1903, and that of the meat handlers

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at Chicago in 1904. All these strikes centered about the unskilled occupations in these different industries—the very occupations towards which the competition of the Slav and Italian is directed by virtue of their being unskilled workmen. These strikes were indications of a wide-spread national conflict waged by immigrants to secure and to retain a foothold in American industries, coupled with the determination of the different labor unions affected to protect the American workman from this competition. The movement will continue for some time to furnish a serious menace to our industrial stability. Our safety from its accompanying dangers rests largely with the Trade Union in raising the immigrant's Standard of Living and in controlling his competition so that at least it will not lower that of the American workingman.

It should not be assumed from the emphasis placed in the preceding discussion upon the work of the Trade Union in checking the evil tendencies of immigration, that there are not many other channels through which its

influence for good is felt. Immigration has merely been selected as a typical illustration. As much space could well be given to any other of a score or more instances indicating the social significance of the Trade Union

Those who have had occasion to examine closely old papers or documents which are contemporary records of some great social movement, such as a religious reformation or a political revolution, usually become imbued with one dominant impression—that the man (usually one figure looms up above all others) who advocated the change or reform, as it is usually called, was generally denounced and persecuted as an enemy to the then existing order of society. Naturally, this persecution came largely from those whose self-interest was jeopardized by the new order of things advocated. These same investigators judging dispassionately after the lapse of decades and of centuries, of the events detailed in the old documents, are all the more impressed with the fact that the ideas or principles so much antagonized and so bitterly

opposed, even to the shedding of human blood in religious and revolutionary and civil wars, are to-day embodied in an institution or in institutions without which our present-day society, if it could so exist, would at least have much of the best taken out of it.

To illustrate, one needs only refer to the hostile attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards Martin Luther, the leader of the Reformation, and to the bitter warfare waged in early times against the ideas now successfully embodied in the belief of Protestant churches. To bring the case nearer home, one has only to read a few of the expressions about George Washington and the principles of independence which were published in England at the time of our Revolutionary War. There are still living to-day men who can recall the active opposition manifested towards Abraham Lincoln and his political principles during the Civil War. And yet, what would American civilization be without the Protestant churches? How much greater progress would we of the present generation have to make were it not for the Declaration of Independence and the

Constitution of the United States? and what a wide chasm has been bridged for us by the principles of Lincoln's life work?

One hundred and more years from now those who come after us will be able to add to the above and numerous other parallels illustrating long steps in society's progress, the name of some labor "agitator" or "walking-delegate," and to embody among the principles which by that time will have made American civilization the peer of any, the very same ideas which to-day are being advocated in the face of as determined opposition as ever Luther, or Washington, or Lincoln confronted. For the writer believes that the leaders of the labor movement are doing a work which must precede that era of which poets have so long been singing and philosophers foretelling—that era of the Brotherhood of Man

Notwithstanding this bright prospect, opposition to the labor movement is justified; not that opposition which would destroy it, but that which eradicates its evils. Every movement having for its ultimate aim the

establishment of institutions—and the writer interprets this to be the real significance of the labor movement—is necessarily accompanied by inherent forces of evil, as viewed from the existing order of things, because to them society and the individual have been harmonized, to a working degree at least, while new institutions mean a readjustment to a new social order. The danger to present-day society is greater or less in proportion to the extent of the change demanded. Industrial progress and social growth to proceed naturally must be slow, and if the pressure which opposition exerts upon the labor movement were removed, the latter would soon sweep everything before it into chaos and social ruin. History teaches emphatically that there is always danger in allowing any movement, however laudable, to progress so rapidly that society cannot adjust itself to the new conditions it imposes. Rational opposition has its useful purpose in preventing an abnormal and in bringing into a normal development the right kind of institutions, and in enabling them to find their proper place and to perform their functions

in the social organization. It is largely through intelligent opposition that the Trade Union, with its machinery for joint agreements between representatives of capital and labor, is developing into a permanent institution which in time will become as important to society as the Political Party, the Church, the Court of Justice, and the School-house. But this is to come only through rational opposition to the evils inherent in the labor movement and not through the exhibition of class hatred or prejudice, or through a failure to recognize the great good to mankind that indisputably follows in its train.

It may have already occurred to the reader that the writer has attempted, within the limits of a single chapter, to treat of a subject to which should properly be given a whole book. If this thought has come to the reader the principal object in presenting this chapter will have been accomplished, as it is designed merely as suggestive of the vast field confronting the Trade Union as an institution, and is not to be taken as an adequate treat-

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ment of the social value of the Trade Union. To have accomplished this latter would have carried this volume far beyond the limits assigned to it.

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